

[Inaugural Speech Drafts—Notes and Suggestions] [1]

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~~D. Murray~~
12/22
First draft/inaugural

Once again the people have spoken.

Once again our democratic process has given us its unique combination of governmental continuity and political change.

Once again we honor not the victory of an individual but the vindication of a system.

And once again we give thanks to God for our priceless heritage of freedom.

I would not be human if I did not feel today immense pride in the honor my fellow Americans have bestowed on me.

I would not be worthy of this office if I did not also feel in some measure inadequate to meet the responsibilities that lie ahead.

No one person, standing alone, could meet those responsibilities. But it is the genius of our democratic system that no President must stand alone, for each President embodies the aspirations and the strengths of millions of his fellow citizens.

Thus is his own strength multiplied and his success made possible, so long as he is faithful to those who have put their trust in him.

It is traditional that a President, upon taking the oath of office, should restate his goals and purposes. The tradition is a proper one, for the person who assumes the office is not the same person who pursued it. He will have

been sobered by victory and humbled by the immensity of the task ahead. The question is no longer how effectively he can campaign, but how wisely he can govern.

The years ahead will be a time of testing. We live in an era of political disillusion, economic distress, and international discord.

Forty-four years ago, in his first Inaugural address, Franklin Roosevelt could say of this nation's difficulties, "They concern, thank God, only material things."

Our difficulties today are spiritual as well as material.

We have been divided by war and ^{dis}illusioned by scandal. The optimism of 1961, the unity of 1965 are only memories now, long since replaced by division, pessimism and despair.

Yet our spiritual loss need not be permanent. I have travelled this land for two years and I believe I know our people as well as anyone. If I have seen ^{your} anguish, I have also seen ^{your} vast wellsprings of hope and optimism and determination. Those enduring strengths are there, waiting to be called forth, waiting to be given voice.

This ceremony marks a new beginning, and I call today for a new spirit in our land, a new dedication to these United States of America.

Let our new spirit be one of unity.

Let our new spirit be one of trust^x

Let our new spirit be one of determination to heal the divisions of the past and grasp the possibilities of the

3.

future.

Let each of us, young or old, rich or poor, black or white, Northerner or Southerner, Protestant, Catholic, Jew or agnostic, try to replace suspicion with friendship, replace self-seeking with sacrifice, replace indifference with concern, until, as Americans, as brothers and sisters, we have made this nation whole and healthy and joyous once again.

A President can call for a new spirit; only a people can provide it. It must begin within each individual, in the smile we give our neighbor, in the courtesy we show a stranger. National greatness does not arise from wealth and weapons; national greatness grows out of open hearts and common purposes.

If our spirit is strong, if we can restore pride and patriotism, if we can foster volunteerism, if we can ^{create} ~~restore~~ a sense of commonality, then we can move with strength and confidence to meet the challenges we face at home and abroad.

At home, we must begin with an understanding that our nation's economic difficulties are both real and serious. We have today high unemployment, high inflation, slow economic growth, and record federal deficits.

We must learn to live within our resources. We in government must not promise all things to all people, because we do not have the resources to provide all things. We live in a time when government can no longer afford waste, extravagance or poor management.

And yet I believe that with good judgment and good management by our governmental leaders, and with patience, confidence, and cooperation from business, labor, and consumers, our economy can be made healthy once again.

That can be done because it must be done.

Too many Americans are without jobs today, people who want to work, people who have been stripped by forces beyond their control of the independence and the dignity that come with honest work.

Too many working Americans find their earnings ravaged by rising taxes and rising prices, until they must sacrifice the very necessities of life. I intend to see the American standard of living increase, not decrease, during my administration.

Our economy must be put right, and much else must be done as well.

We must always remember that our people are our most precious resource. Every illiterate adult, every child who does not receive all the education he or she can absorb, every teenager who cannot find work, every retarded person who lacks treatment or training, each of these is an indictment of us all.

We must seek full equality of opportunity. Six years ago, upon becoming governor of Georgia, I said that the time for racial discrimination was over. Today I add that the time for discrimination based on age, sex, religion or ethnic background is also over.

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Our nation's beauty and natural resources are threatened by greed, selfishness, delay and neglect. We must move firmly to reconcile our need for economic well-being with our need for environmental excellence.

We must renew the age-old quest for equal justice. Our laws must be fair, and those who break our laws, be they rich or poor, famous or obscure, must be dealt with swiftly, firmly, and impartially. ~~To that end, I will instruct my attorney general to set in motion a complete reorganization of our Federal system of justice.~~

*Def. Attorney
must
be
reorganized
by*

?

We must reorganize and revitalize our Federal government, ending waste, rewarding ability, and achieving a government that is both compassionate and competent, a government that sees people as people and not as statistics.

We must reform our tax structure, so the rich pay their fair share, and no less, and working people pay their fair share, and no more.

We must remember that our nation is best served by a strong and independent President working in harmony with a strong and independent Congress, and in harmony as well with the nation's governors, mayors, and other local officials.

We must seek continually to understand the proper relationship between those of us who are fortunate, and have the power to make decisions that affect the lives of others, and those of us who are powerless, and must live with those decisions.

Even as we respect the right of the fortunate to amass wealth and power, so must we respect the right of the less fortunate to live in security and comfort. Those of us who have had so many blessings bestowed upon us must always seek to share those blessings with others less fortunate. And those of us in public office must always remember that the test of a government is not how popular it is with the privileged few, but how honestly and fairly it serves the powerless many who must depend on it.

We must also remember that only insofar as we achieve justice at home can we win respect abroad.

There is a new spirit at large in the entire world today, as more and more peoples and nations demand personal security and political freedom. It is our duty, as the heirs of the American Revolution, to support that spirit of freedom all across the ^{is} planet.

Today, for the first time in history, there is truly a global agenda, as men and women everywhere demand an end to poverty, to illiteracy, to disease and famine and overpopulation. We must be leaders in that great global crusade.

The world agenda also includes a demand for individual human rights, and we must use our influence to end torture, and unjust oppression and imprisonment wherever they may occur.

We must also remember that there is a basic human right to be safe from mindless, indiscriminate political terrorism. Let those terrorists who would slaughter and mainⁱⁿ innocent men, women, and children, be forewarned today that our patience is exhausted and our arms are swift.

To our friends and allies, we offer increased cooperation and consultation, based on our shared devotion to democratic principles.

To those who have been our adversaries, we say that the United States of America seeks friendship with every nation.

To all the world we pledge an unending search for peace, with our goal the elimination of nuclear weapons from this earth. That goal may not be achieved in this administration. It may not be achieved in this century. But let history say: "They made the start; they turned humanity from the road of destruction to the road of peace."

Ours is a strong nation, and it will remain strong during my administration. All nations may be sure that we will protect our interests, honor our commitments, and support our allies.

Let the world know, too, that our foreign policy will reflect the character of our people: we will be generous as well as strong, compassionate as well as vigilant.

A strong nation, like a strong person, need not constantly prove its strength. Let weak nations be blustering and impulsive; ~~a strong~~ ^{our} nation can afford to be patient, to be restrained, to be wise.

We have learned the lessons of the past. Not again will our young people be sent to fight in far-off lands where we have no vital interests. Let us rather fight the wars at home, against poverty and ignorance and injustice, for those are the *enemies which truly threaten* ~~battlegrounds where our real vital interests are at~~ stake.

Our people have called for new and aggressive leadership, and with your help I will provide that leadership.

I do not say the years ahead will be easy. But our nation has faced difficult times before and prevailed -- prevailed because we have dared to dream great dreams, because we have refused to accept mediocrity or injustice, and because we are a people who know that hard work can make dreams come true.

As I undertake my new responsibilities, I do not promise that you will always agree with me. I cannot promise that I will always be right. But I do promise that I will never be satisfied with anything less than what I believe to be best for our people and all the people of the world.

We are bound together, all of us, because we are Americans and because we are children of God.

If adversity is our inspiration, surely greatness can be our reward.

Let us create together our new national spirit of unity and trust.

Let us strive together.

Let us learn together and laugh together and work together and pray together and, if need be, suffer together, confident that in the end we will triumph together.

Our goal is both simple and majestic: to have an American government as good and decent and strong and wise and compassionate and as filled with love as the American people are, as you are.

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If we can only do that, if our people can rule, then we can be sure once more that we truly live in the greatest nation on earth.

#

INAUGURAL SPEECH
FIRST DRAFT

⑧ As my high school teacher said long ago:

~~Now I do~~ "We have to adjust to changing times and
still hold out for unchanging principles"

Here before me is the Bible used when George Washington was
sworn in as our ^{speaks} ~~applies to us~~ first President, and

I HAVE JUST TAKEN ^{my own} ~~THE~~ OATH OF OFFICE ON A BIBLE MY
MOTHER GAVE ME MANY YEARS AGO -- OPENED TO ^{a verse which still} ~~AN ADMONITION~~
~~which still applies 3000 years after God gave this message to King Solomon,~~
AND A PROMISE FROM GOD TO KING SOLOMON, STILL APPLICABLE
^{speaks to us 3000 years after God gave this admonition}
~~TO OUR PEOPLE, OUR LEADERS, AND OUR GREAT NATION.~~
and promise to King Solomon:

"IF MY PEOPLE, WHICH ARE CALLED BY MY NAME, SHALL
HUMBLE THEMSELVES, AND PRAY, AND SEEK MY FACE, AND TURN
FROM THEIR WICKED WAYS; THEN WILL I HEAR FROM HEAVEN, AND
WILL FORGIVE THEIR SIN, AND WILL HEAL THEIR LAND."

~~-(2-CHRONICLES 7:14)~~

With God's help, it is time for our land to be healed.

THIS [INAUGURATION] CEREMONY MARKS A NEW BEGINNING,
A NEW SPIRIT AMONG OUR PEOPLE, AND A NEW DEDICATION WITHIN
OUR GOVERNMENT. [NO ONE PERSON CAN NURTURE AND ENHANCE
THIS SPIRIT.

BUT IT IS ~~THE GENIUS OF OUR DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY THAT~~
~~THOSE ELECTED TO PUBLIC OFFICE CAN SOMETIMES EMBODY THE~~
~~ASPIRATIONS AND STRUGGLES OF MILLIONS OF PEOPLE. THIS IS~~
~~HOW STRENGTHS ARE MULTIPLIED AND SUCCESS MADE POSSIBLE.]~~

A PRESIDENT MAY DETECT AND ANNOUNCE A NEW SPIRIT;
ONLY A PEOPLE CAN PROVIDE IT. ~~[IT MUST BEGIN WITHIN MANY
INDIVIDUALS, WITH A COMMON REALIZATION OF OUR NEW OPPORTUNITIES.]~~

TO YOU AND TO ~~AND TO BE CLOSE TO YOU~~
YOU HAVE GIVEN ME A GREAT RESPONSIBILITY -- TO TRY TO STAY CLOSE
EXEMPLIFY WHAT YOU ARE, YOUR STRENGTH CAN COMPENSATE
FOR MY WEAKNESS, AND YOUR WISDOM CAN HELP TO MINIMIZE
MY MISTAKES.

^{strive to}
LET US ^{together} CREATE TOGETHER A NEW NATIONAL SPIRIT OF
UNITY AND TRUST. ~~LET US STRIVE TOGETHER.~~ LET US LEARN ^{together}
AND LAUGH ^{together} AND WORK ^{together} AND PRAY TOGETHER, CONFIDENT THAT IN
THE END WE WILL TRIUMPH TOGETHER IN THE RIGHT.

TWO CENTURIES AGO OUR NATION'S BIRTH ^{was a watershed in} ~~APPEARED TO~~
~~BE THE FULFILLMENT OF~~ ^{long} THE ^{human} QUEST FOR FREEDOM. OURS WAS
THE FIRST SOCIETY OPENLY TO DEFINE ITSELF IN TERMS OF ^{both}
^{SPIRITUALITY} ~~THE SPIRITUAL AND OF HUMAN~~ LIBERTY.

^{UNIQUE SELF-DEFINITION}
IT IS THAT ~~(UNIQUENESS)~~ WHICH HAS GIVEN US A TRAN-
SCENDENT APPEAL -- BUT IT ALSO IMPOSES ON US A SPECIAL
MORAL OBLIGATION.

^{sustained} ~~[WE HAVE LEARNED THAT]~~ OUR GREATNESS LIES IN THE
ASSUMPTION OF THESE MORAL DUTIES, ^{when borne, sustained, assumed,} WHICH SEEM INVARIABLY
TO BE IN OUR OWN BEST INTERESTS.

FIRST DRAFT
PAGE THREE

* The bold and brilliant dream which entranced the founders of our nation still awaits its consummation. I have no new dream to relate, but urge a new faith in the old dream.

people
(A) We recall those times when we have stood briefly, but magnificently, united; in those times no prize was beyond our grasp. But we cannot dwell upon remembered glory.

AS WE BEGIN OUR THIRD CENTURY IT IS WELL TO CONSIDER WHAT WE HAVE BEEN AND WHAT WE OUGHT TO BE. ^{P(B)} Once again our democratic system has given us its singular combination of continuity and change ~~VIDED BOTH GOVERNMENTAL CONTINUITY AND A FRAMEWORK FOR~~ ^{{ growth.} ~~CONSTANT AND DRAMATIC POLITICAL~~ ^{{ change.} ~~CHANGE.~~ ^{{ progress.}

WE HAVE ^{found} ~~BEEN ABLE TO ACHIEVE~~ A HIGH DEGREE OF PERSONAL LIBERTY AND WE ARE NOW STRUGGLING TO ENHANCE EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY.

* ~~THE YEARS AHEAD WILL NOT BE EASY ONES, BUT~~ ~~WE HAVE~~ ~~IN THE PAST FACED MANY DIFFICULTIES AND PREVAILED --~~ ~~BECAUSE WE ARE A PEOPLE WHO KNOW THAT HIGH PURPOSE AND~~ ~~HARD WORK CAN MAKE THE NOBLEST DREAM COME TRUE.~~

^{when} ~~IF WE ARE INSPIRED BY CHALLENGE AND ADVERSITY,~~ ^{is} ~~THEN SURELY GREATNESS CAN BE OUR NATION'S REWARD.~~

Reorganization
WE CANNOT AFFORD TO DRIFT. WE MUST ~~STRIVE TO~~ END DISCRIMINATION, ~~TO~~ PROTECT THE ^{WEAK} [QUALITY OF OUR LIFE], ~~TO~~ ^{reduce} ELIMINATE WASTE, ~~TO~~ CONTROL CRIME, ~~TO~~ PUT OUR PEOPLE TO WORK, ~~TO~~ STRENGTHEN OUR FAMILIES, ~~TO~~ INSURE FAIR TAXATION, ~~TO~~ PROTECT PERSONAL PRIVACY, AND ~~TO~~ SET AND ACHIEVE WORTHY GOALS IN AGRICULTURE, HEALTH CARE, EDUCATION AND IN THE SUPPLY OF ENERGY. Our government must ~~be~~ at the same time be Competent and compassionate.

FIRST DRAFT
PAGE FOUR

FORTUNATELY, OUR RECENT MISTAKES AND THE RESULTING DOUBT AND DISTRUST HAVE FORCED ~~OUR~~ OUR OWN GOVERNMENT TO SEARCH FOR MORE OPENNESS AND CANDOR.

WE MUST STRIP AWAY SECRECY, AND MOVE THROUGH UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE TO MAKE OUR PEOPLE AND OUR GOVERNMENT ONE, AND THE SAME.

*America is many nations in one.
America is not just a place; it is an idea.*

WE HAVE COME THROUGH MANY TIMES OF TESTING AND TRIAL, OF DISAPPOINTMENT AND CONCERN. ^{*we have learned that*} ~~^~~ EVEN OUR ~~OWN~~ ^{*NATION*} GREAT ~~GOVERNMENT~~ ^{*THAT WE*} HAS ITS RECOGNIZED LIMITS, AND ^{*^*} CAN NEITHER ANSWER ALL QUESTIONS NOR SOLVE ALL PROBLEMS.

BUT THE AMERICAN DREAM PERSISTS.

WE REJECT THE PROSPECT OF FAILURE OR MEDIOCRITY OR ~~OF~~ AN INFERIOR QUALITY OF LIFE. OURS IS A TRADITION OF LEADERSHIP AND PROGRESS, OF COMPASSION AND COMPETENCE.

OUR NATION'S BEST IS STILL AHEAD.

WE CAN DEPEND ^{*upon*} ~~ON~~ OUR OWN QUIET STRENGTH, BASED NOT MERELY ON THE SIZE OF AN ARSENAL, BUT ON THE NOBILITY OF OUR IDEAS.

TO BE TRUE TO OURSELVES, WE MUST BE TRUE TO OTHERS.
The OUR WORLD ^{is now} ~~IS NOW~~ DOMINATED BY A NEW SPIRIT, BY PEOPLES
MORE NUMEROUS AND MORE POLITICALLY AWARE, CRAVING AND NOW
DEMANDING THEIR PLACE IN THE SUN -- NOT JUST FOR THE
BETTERMENT OF ^{THEIR OWN} ~~THE HUMAN~~ PHYSICAL CONDITION, BUT FOR ^{THEIR OWN} ~~A FUNDAMENTAL~~ BASIC
~~RESPECT FOR~~ ^{the desire for} HUMAN RIGHTS. FREEDOM IN THE WORLD IS ON
THE RISE.

TAPPING THIS NEW SPIRIT, ~~WE MUST~~ ^{just and peaceful world} (HELP ~~TO~~ SHAPE A
~~WORLD OF PEACE THAT IS TRULY HUMANE.~~) THERE CAN BE NO
NOBLER NOR MORE AMBITIOUS TASK FOR AMERICA TO UNDERTAKE
ON THIS DAY OF A NEW BEGINNING, ^{than to}

THE WORLD STILL LOOKS TO US FOR LEADERSHIP. OURS
IS A STRONG NATION AND ^{WE WILL MAINTAIN A} ~~IT WILL REMAIN STRONG, WITH~~ STRENGTH
SO ^{ample} ~~adequate~~ THAT IT NEED NOT BE PROVEN IN COMBAT.
^{sufficient}

WE HAVE NO FEAR OF PEACEFUL COMPETITION.

WE KNOW THAT THE TRUST WHICH OUR NATION EARNS IS
ESSENTIAL TO ITS STRENGTH.

help other nations
WE WILL ^{help other nations} SEEK LASTING AGREEMENTS ~~[IN THOSE AREAS OF THE WORLD]~~ WHERE THE PRESENT BALANCE IS FRAGILE AND WHERE PEACE SEEMS A TEMPORARY STATE.

abroad
WE WILL NOT BEHAVE ^{abroad} ~~IN ANOTHER COUNTRY~~ IN A WAY WHICH WOULD VIOLATE OUR RULES AND STANDARDS HERE AT HOME.

WE WILL FIGHT OUR WARS AGAINST POVERTY, IGNORANCE AND INJUSTICE, FOR THOSE ARE THE ENEMIES AGAINST WHICH OUR FORCES CAN BE ^{nably} ~~WORTHILY~~ MARSHALLED.

*rightly
nably
honorably*

~~WE WILL HELP TO BUILD A JUST AND PEACEFUL WORLD ORDER.~~

But
WE MUST BEWARE OF ILLUSIONS. FOR A LONG TIME TO COME WE MUST ^{be vigilant, and} COMBINE PEACEFUL COMPETITION WITH INCREASING EFFORTS TO ^{RESOLVE} ~~ACCOMMODATE~~ WITH ^{others} ~~SOME [OTHER NATIONS]~~ OUR EXISTING DIFFERENCES.

WE CANNOT DOMINATE OTHER NATIONS NOR BE RIGIDLY MORALISTIC BUT OUR SENSE OF MORALITY DICTATES A CLEARCUT PREFERENCE FOR THOSE SOCIETIES WHICH SHARE WITH US AN ABIDING RESPECT FOR INDIVIDUAL HUMAN RIGHTS. BECAUSE WE ARE FREE, WE CANNOT ^{NEVER} ~~NOT~~ BE INDIFFERENT TO THE FATE OF FREEDOM ELSEWHERE.

IN THAT SETTING, AMERICAN POWER WILL REMAIN A CONSTANT AND CREDIBLE FACTOR OF STABILITY. EVERYONE MUST KNOW THAT ADEQUATE MILITARY STRENGTH -- TO DEFEND OUR INTERESTS, TO PRESERVE OUR IDEALS, AND TO SAFEGUARD OUR FRIENDS -- WILL BE MAINTAINED AND KEPT READY IF REQUIRED.
we will be ever vigilant and never vulnerable.

WE SEEK NOT TO INTIMIDATE, BUT IT IS CLEAR THAT A WORLD WHICH OTHERS CAN DOMINATE WITH IMPUNITY WOULD BE INHOSPITABLE TO DECENCY AND CONTRARY TO THE WELLBEING OF ALL PEOPLE.

OUR NATION CAN BE STRONG ABROAD ONLY IF IT IS STRONG AT HOME. FOREIGN TRADE AND JOBS FOR OUR WORKERS, THE WORLD ECONOMY AND DOMESTIC PROSPERITY ARE ALL *as we are concerned* MUTUALLY SUPPORTIVE; AND ~~[CONCERN]~~ *we must meet* FOR HUNGRY PEOPLE IN OTHER NATIONS ~~[MUST BE MATCHED BY MEETING]~~ THE NEEDS OF THE DISADVANTAGED IN OUR OWN LAND.

WE CAN HELP TO REDUCE *suffering* ~~[HUNGER]~~, INJUSTICE, POLLUTION, THE THREAT OF WAR, AND THE OPPRESSION OF INVOLUNTARY SERVITUDE. WE SEE THAT OUR COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS MUST BE ABSOLUTE, AND THAT ~~our~~ *can* LAWS ~~MUST~~ BE FAIR, OUR *world's* ~~NATION'S~~ BEAUTY PRESERVED, *that* THE POWERFUL NEED NOT PERSECUTE THE WEAK, AND *that* HUMAN DIGNITY CAN BE ENHANCED.

WE ARE ~~STILL~~ ^{but still} MILITARILY SECURE, ^{worldwide} AND ENGAGED IN A ^{designed} MASSIVE ^{among} ARMAMENTS RACE, ^{TO} INSURE CONTINUING EQUIVALENT STRENGTH ^[WITH OUR] POTENTIAL ADVERSARIES.

~~[TO ALL THE WORLD]~~ WE PLEDGE PATIENCE, RESTRAINT AND WISDOM IN OUR ^{EFFORTS TO LIMIT} ~~[UNENDING SEARCH FOR PEACE WITH]~~ THE WORLD'S ARMAMENTS ^{TO} ~~[LIMITED TO]~~ THOSE NECESSARY FOR EACH NATION'S OWN DOMESTIC SAFETY, WITH OUR ULTIMATE GOAL THE ELIMINATION OF ^{ALL} NUCLEAR WEAPONS FROM THIS EARTH. [SUCCESS CAN MEAN LIFE INSTEAD OF DEATH.]

WE URGE ALL OTHER PEOPLE TO JOIN US ^{as architects} ~~[IN A CONCERTED]~~ ^{of peace.} AND ~~AGRESSIVE EFFORT TO REALIZE THESE GOALS.]~~

~~America is many nations in one.~~

OUR RECENT SERIOUS MISTAKES ^{may} ~~CAN~~ BRING A RESURGENT COMMITMENT TO THE BASIC VALUES OF OUR NATION. ^{Despair about} ~~HATRED OF~~ OUR OWN GOVERNMENT WILL LEAVE US NO FUTURE.

WE MUST ASSESS OUR FAULTS, TOLERATE DIVERSITY, RECOGNIZE OUR PHYSICAL LIMITATIONS, AND YET REMEMBER THAT THE AMERICAN DREAM IS NEITHER OUTDATED NOR DIMINISHED.

~~AMERICA IS NOT JUST A PLACE, BUT AN IDEA.~~

FIRST DRAFT
PAGE NINE

WE, THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, ARE STRONG,
AND WITHIN US THERE IS EVIDENT A SOMBER, PURPOSEFUL,
INEXORABLE REKINDLING OF HOPE.

IF WE CAN MAINTAIN A MORAL AND JUST GOVERNMENT,
OUR FUTURE WILL BE EVEN BETTER THAN THE PAST.

OUR GOAL IS BOTH SIMPLE AND MAJESTIC -- TO HAVE
AN AMERICAN GOVERNMENT AS GOOD AND DECENT AND STRONG
AND COMPETENT AND AS FILLED WITH COMPASSION AND LOVE
AS ARE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

INAUGURAL SPEECH
SECOND DRAFT

On behalf of ^{for} myself and our nation, I want to thank my predecessor, who has done so much to heal our land.

HERE BEFORE ME IS THE BIBLE USED WHEN GEORGE WASHINGTON WAS SWORN IN AS OUR FIRST PRESIDENT, ^{in 1789,} AND I HAVE JUST TAKEN MY OWN OATH OF OFFICE ON ^{the one} ~~A BIBLE~~ MY MOTHER GAVE ME MANY YEARS AGO -- OPENED TO ~~A VERSE WHICH SPEAKS TO US~~ ^{STILL} (3,000 YEARS AFTER GOD GAVE THIS ADMONITION AND PROMISE ~~TO KING SOLOMON~~) an admonition given to us 2500 years ago by the prophet Micah:

"IF MY PEOPLE WHICH ARE CALLED BY MY NAME SHALL HUMBLE THEMSELVES, AND PRAY, AND SEEK MY FACE, AND TURN FROM THEIR WICKED WAYS, THEN WILL I HEAR FROM HEAVEN, AND WILL FORGIVE THEIR SIN, AND WILL HEAL THEIR LAND." (2 CHRONICLES 7:14)

~~Under the stewardship of my predecessor, and~~
WITH GOD'S HELP, ~~[IT IS TIME FOR] OUR LAND~~ ^{has begun} ~~TO BE HEALED.~~

THIS INAUGURATION CEREMONY MARKS A NEW BEGINNING, -A NEW SPIRIT AMONG OUR PEOPLE, AND A NEW DEDICATION WITHIN OUR GOVERNMENT, ^{and a new spirit among our people.}

~~more than 2500 years after the prophet Micah gave this admonition:~~

"He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God" (Micah 6:8)

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option
I

option
II

A PRESIDENT MAY DETECT AND ANNOUNCE A NEW SPIRIT; ^{but} ONLY
A PEOPLE CAN PROVIDE IT.

YOU HAVE GIVEN ME A GREAT RESPONSIBILITY -- ^{by staying} ~~[TO TRY TO~~
^{to stay} ~~STAY]~~ CLOSE TO YOU ^{and to represent} ~~[AND]~~ TO EXEMPLIFY WHAT YOU ARE.

YOUR STRENGTH CAN COMPENSATE FOR MY WEAKNESS, AND YOUR
WISDOM CAN HELP TO MINIMIZE MY MISTAKES.

~~If we despise our own government, we have no future.~~

LET US ~~[STRIVE TO]~~ CREATE TOGETHER A NEW NATIONAL SPIRIT
OF UNITY AND TRUST.

LET US LEARN TOGETHER AND LAUGH TOGETHER AND WORK
TOGETHER AND PRAY TOGETHER, CONFIDENT THAT IN THE END
WE WILL TRIUMPH TOGETHER IN THE RIGHT.

TWO CENTURIES AGO OUR NATION'S BIRTH WAS A WATERSHED
IN THE LONG QUEST FOR ~~HUMAN~~ FREEDOM.

^{strong because it is many nations in one; and but}
[The United States of America is, not just a place, ~~it is~~ ^{an idea.}]

OURS WAS THE FIRST SOCIETY OPENLY TO DEFINE ITSELF
IN TERMS OF BOTH SPIRITUALITY AND ^{human} LIBERTY.

IT IS THAT UNIQUE SELF-DEFINITION WHICH HAS GIVEN US
A TRANSCENDENT APPEAL -- BUT IT ALSO IMPOSES ON US A SPECIAL
~~[MORAL]~~ OBLIGATION.

OUR GREATNESS LIES IN THE ASSUMPTION OF ^{those} ~~[THESE]~~ MORAL
DUTIES WHICH, WHEN ASSUMED, SEEM INVARIABLY TO BE IN OUR
OWN BEST INTERESTS.

(A) ~~AS~~
AS WE BEGIN OUR THIRD CENTURY IT IS WELL TO CONSIDER
WHAT WE HAVE BEEN AND WHAT WE OUGHT TO BE.

The Civil War is over, but the American Revolution continues.
AS MY HIGH SCHOOL TEACHER, ^{Miss Julia Coleman} SAID LONG AGO:

"WE HAVE TO ADJUST TO CHANGING TIMES AND STILL HOLD
OUT FOR UNCHANGING PRINCIPLES."

ONCE AGAIN OUR DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM HAS GIVEN US ITS
SINGULAR COMBINATION OF CONTINUITY AND CHANGE.

already
~~WE HAVE FOUND A HIGH DEGREE OF PERSONAL LIBERTY AND~~
~~WE ARE NOW STRUGGLING TO ENHANCE EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY.~~

*To trust and revere the past while seeking new visions
historical
is the rhythm of American strength and achievement.*

(A) THE BOLD AND BRILLIANT DREAM WHICH ENTRANCED THE
FOUNDERS OF OUR NATION STILL AWAITS ITS CONSUMMATION.

I HAVE NO NEW DREAM TO RELATE, BUT URGE A ~~new~~ fresh
FAITH IN THE OLD DREAM.

OUR RECENT ~~SERIOUS~~ MISTAKES MAY, ^{likely} BRING A RESURGENT
COMMITMENT TO THE BASIC VALUES OF OUR NATION, ^{because we}
^{know that}

If we despise ^{we have}
~~DESPAIR ABOUT~~ OUR OWN GOVERNMENT [~~WILL LEAVE US~~] NO
FUTURE. +

WE RECALL, ^{in special} ~~THOSE~~ TIMES WHEN WE HAVE STOOD BRIEFLY,
BUT MAGNIFICENTLY, UNITED; IN THOSE TIMES NO PRIZE WAS
BEYOND OUR GRASP.

BUT WE CANNOT DWELL UPON REMEMBERED GLORY.

WE CANNOT AFFORD TO DRIFT.

WE MUST END DISCRIMINATION, PROTECT THE WEAK, REDUCE
WASTE, CONTROL CRIME, PUT OUR PEOPLE TO WORK, STRENGTHEN
OUR FAMILIES, INSURE FAIR TAXATION, PROTECT PERSONAL PRI-
VACY, AND SET AND ACHIEVE WORTHY GOALS IN AGRICULTURE,

HEALTH CARE, EDUCATION AND IN THE SUPPLY OF ENERGY.

OUR GOVERNMENT MUST AT THE SAME TIME BE COMPETENT
AND COMPASSIONATE.

~~[FORTUNATELY, OUR RECENT MISTAKES AND THE RESULTING
DOUBT AND DISTRUST HAVE FORCED]~~ *We are being forced* OUR OWN GOVERNMENT, TO
SEARCH FOR MORE OPENNESS AND CANDOR.

WE MUST STRIP AWAY SECRECY, AND MOVE THROUGH UNIVERSAL
SUFFRAGE TO MAKE OUR PEOPLE AND OUR GOVERNMENT ONE AND THE
SAME.

7/ ~~[AMERICA IS MANY NATIONS IN ONE.]~~

~~[AMERICA IS NOT JUST A PLACE; IT IS AN IDEA.]~~

~~[WE HAVE COME THROUGH MANY TIMES OF TESTING AND TRIAL,
OF DISAPPOINT^{ment} AND CONCERN.]~~

We have are learning That "more" is not necessarily better, and
~~WE [HAVE LEARNED]~~ *known* THAT EVEN OUR GREAT NATION HAS ITS
RECOGNIZED LIMITS, AND THAT WE CAN NEITHER ANSWER ALL
QUESTIONS NOR SOLVE ALL PROBLEMS.

BUT THE AMERICAN DREAM ^{endures} ~~PERSISTS~~.

*We have already found a high degree of personal liberty, and
we are struggling to enhance equality of opportunity.*

WE REJECT THE PROSPECT OF FAILURE OR MEDIOCRITY OR
AN INFERIOR QUALITY OF LIFE ^{for any person.}

~~[OURS IS A TRADITION OF LEADERSHIP AND PROGRESS, OF
COMPASSION AND COMPETENCE.]~~

OUR NATION'S BEST IS STILL AHEAD.

WE CAN DEPEND UPON ^{this} ~~OUR OWN~~ QUIET STRENGTH, ^{which is} BASED NOT
MERELY ON THE SIZE OF AN ARSENAL, BUT ON THE NOBILITY OF
OUR IDEAS.

THE WORLD STILL LOOKS TO US FOR LEADERSHIP.

^{we are}
~~OURS IS~~ A STRONG NATION AND WE WILL MAINTAIN A
STRENGTH SO SUFFICIENT THAT IT NEED NOT BE PROVEN IN
COMBAT.

WE HAVE NO FEAR OF PEACEFUL COMPETITION.

WE KNOW THAT THE TRUST WHICH OUR NATION EARNS IS
ESSENTIAL TO ITS STRENGTH.

TO BE TRUE TO OURSELVES, WE MUST BE TRUE TO OTHERS.

THE WORLD ITSELF IS NOW DOMINATED BY A NEW SPIRIT,
BY PEOPLES MORE NUMEROUS AND MORE POLITICALLY AWARE,
CRAVING AND NOW DEMANDING THEIR PLACE IN THE SUN --
NOT JUST FOR THE BETTERMENT OF THEIR OWN PHYSICAL CON-
DITION, BUT FOR BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS.

passion
THE ~~DESIRE~~ FOR FREEDOM IN THE WORLD IS ON THE RISE.

TAPPING THIS NEW SPIRIT, THERE CAN BE NO NOBLER NOR
MORE AMBITIOUS TASK FOR AMERICA TO UNDERTAKE ON THIS DAY
OF A NEW BEGINNING THAN TO HELP SHAPE A JUST AND PEACEFUL
WORLD THAT IT TRULY HUMANE.

good will
order
WE WILL HELP OTHER NATIONS SEEK LASTING AGREEMENTS
WHERE THE PRESENT *structure of power* IS FRAGILE *or* *good will* ~~AND~~ WHERE ~~PEACE~~ SEEMS
A TEMPORARY STATE, *and we urge all other peoples to*
join us as architects of peace.

WE WILL NOT BEHAVE ABROAD IN A WAY WHICH WOULD VIOLATE
OUR RULES AND STANDARDS HERE AT HOME.

WE WILL FIGHT OUR WARS AGAINST POVERTY, IGNORANCE AND
INJUSTICE, FOR THOSE ARE THE ENEMIES AGAINST WHICH OUR FORCES
CAN BE NOBLY MARSHALLED.

WE CANNOT DOMINATE OTHER NATIONS NOR BE RIGIDLY MORALISTIC,
BUT OUR SENSE OF MORALITY DICTATES A CLEARCUT PREFERENCE FOR
THOSE SOCIETIES WHICH SHARE WITH US AN ABIDING RESPECT FOR
INDIVIDUAL HUMAN RIGHTS.

BECAUSE WE ARE FREE, WE CAN NEVER BE INDIFFERENT TO THE
FATE OF FREEDOM ELSEWHERE.

But never let morality be confused with weakness.

~~BUT~~ WE MUST BEWARE OF ILLUSIONS, and

[~~FOR A LONG TIME TO COME WE MUST BE VIGILANT, AND COM-
BINE PEACEFUL COMPETITION WITH INCREASING EFFORTS TO RESOLVE
WITH OTHERS OUR EXISTING DIFFERENCES.~~]

^{do not}
WE ^{do not} SEEK ~~NOT~~ TO INTIMIDATE, BUT IT IS CLEAR THAT A WORLD WHICH OTHERS CAN DOMINATE WITH IMPUNITY WOULD BE INHOSPITABLE TO DECENCY AND CONTRARY TO THE WELL-BEING OF ALL PEOPLE.

IN THAT SETTING, AMERICAN POWER WILL REMAIN A CONSTANT AND CREDIBLE FACTOR OF STABILITY.

EVERYONE MUST KNOW THAT ADEQUATE MILITARY STRENGTH -- TO DEFEND OUR INTERESTS, TO PRESERVE OUR IDEALS, AND TO SAFEGUARD OUR FRIENDS -- WILL BE MAINTAINED AND KEPT READY IF REQUIRED.

WE WILL BE EVER VIGILANT AND NEVER VULNERABLE.

OUR NATION CAN BE STRONG ABROAD ONLY IF IT ^{is} STRONG AT HOME, *and the best way to enhance freedom abroad for other is to insure the demonstrate that our democratic system is strong and effective. worthy of emulation.*

FOREIGN TRADE AND JOBS FOR OUR WORKERS, THE WORLD ECONOMY AND DOMESTIC PROSPERITY ARE ALL MUTUALLY SUPPORTIVE; AND AS WE ARE CONCERNED FOR HUNGRY PEOPLE IN OTHER NATIONS WE MUST MEET THE NEEDS OF THE DISADVANTAGED IN OUR OWN LAND.

WE CAN HELP TO REDUCE SUFFERING, INJUSTICE, POLLUTION,
THE THREAT OF WAR AND THE OPPRESSION OF ~~[INVOLUNTARY]~~ SERVITUDE.

WE SEE THAT OUR COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS MUST BE
ABSOLUTE, AND THAT LAWS CAN BE FAIR, OUR WORLD'S BEAUTY
PRESERVED, THAT THE POWERFUL NEED NOT PERSECUTE THE WEAK,
AND THAT HUMAN DIGNITY CAN BE ENHANCED.

Although
~~WE ARE~~ MILITARILY SECURE, *we are* ~~BUT~~ STILL ENGAGED IN A MASSIVE
WORLDWIDE ARMAMENTS RACE DESIGNED TO INSURE CONTINUING EQUIV-
ALENT STRENGTH AMONG POTENTIAL ADVERSARIES.

fervor perseverance
WE PLEDGE ~~[PATIENCE, RESTRAINT]~~ AND WISDOM IN OUR EFFORTS
TO LIMIT THE WORLD'S ARMAMENTS TO THOSE NECESSARY FOR EACH
NATION'S OWN DOMESTIC SAFETY, *and will move this year toward a step toward* ~~WITH~~ OUR ULTIMATE GOAL—THE
ELIMINATION OF ALL NUCLEAR WEAPONS FROM THIS EARTH.

WE URGE ALL OTHER PEOPLE TO JOIN US AS ARCHITECTS OF
PEACE.

SUCCESS CAN MEAN LIFE INSTEAD OF DEATH.

Within us,
~~WE~~, THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, ~~ARE STRONG,~~
~~AND WITHIN US~~ THERE IS EVIDENT A SOMBER, PURPOSEFUL,
INEXORABLE REKINDLING OF HOPE.

cherish
WE MUST ASSESS OUR FAULTS, TOLERATE DIVERSITY,
RECOGNIZE OUR PHYSICAL LIMITATIONS, AND YET REMEMBER
THAT THE AMERICAN DREAM IS NEITHER OUTDATED NOR
DIMINISHED.

[~~IF WE CAN MAINTAIN A MORAL AND JUST GOVERNMENT,~~
~~OUR FUTURE WILL BE EVEN BETTER THAN THE PAST.~~]

[~~OUR GOAL IS BOTH SIMPLE AND MAJESTIC -- TO HAVE~~
~~AN AMERICAN GOVERNMENT AS GOOD AND DECENT AND STRONG~~
~~AND COMPETENT AND AS FILLED WITH COMPASSION AND LOVE~~
~~AS ARE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.~~]

*It is good As we renew our search for justice, mercy, and humility.
[As our third century begins.] It is time
to ask [our government and] ourselves, In a
new spirit of freedom and commitment, "Why
not the best?" it is time to remember the ancient prophet, and
to renew our search for humility, mercy, and justice.*

INAUGURAL SPEECH
THIRD DRAFT

FOR MYSELF AND OUR NATION, I WANT TO THANK MY PREDE-
CESSOR, WHO HAS DONE SO MUCH TO HEAL OUR LAND.

HERE BEFORE ME IS THE BIBLE USED WHEN GEORGE WASHINGTON
WAS SWORN IN AS OUR FIRST PRESIDENT IN 1789, AND I HAVE JUST
TAKEN MY OWN OATH OF OFFICE ON THE ONE MY MOTHER GAVE ME
MANY YEARS AGO OPENED TO AN ADMONITION GIVEN TO US 2500
YEARS AGO BY THE PROPHET MICAH:

"HE HATH SHOWED THEE, O MAN, WHAT IS GOOD; AND WHAT
DOTH THE LORD REQUIRE OF THEE, BUT TO DO JUSTLY, AND TO
LOVE MERCY, AND TO WALK HUMBLY WITH THY GOD." (MICAH 6:8)

THIS INAUGURATION CEREMONY MARKS A NEW BEGINNING,
A NEW DEDICATION WITHIN OUR GOVERNMENT, AND A NEW SPIRIT
AMONG OUR PEOPLE.

A PRESIDENT MAY DETECT AND ANNOUNCE A NEW SPIRIT, BUT
ONLY A PEOPLE CAN PROVIDE IT.

YOU HAVE GIVEN ME A GREAT RESPONSIBILITY - TO STAY
CLOSE TO YOU AND TO EXEMPLIFY WHAT YOU ARE.

YOUR STRENGTH CAN COMPENSATE FOR MY WEAKNESS, AND YOUR
WISDOM CAN HELP TO MINIMIZE MY MISTAKES.

LET US CREATE TOGETHER A NEW NATIONAL SPIRIT OF UNITY
AND TRUST.

LET US LEARN TOGETHER AND LAUGH TOGETHER AND WORK
TOGETHER AND PRAY TOGETHER, CONFIDENT THAT IN THE END WE
WILL TRIUMPH TOGETHER IN THE RIGHT.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IS STRONG BECAUSE IT
IS MANY NATIONS IN ONE; AND NOT JUST A PLACE, BUT AN IDEA.

TWO CENTURIES AGO OUR NATION'S BIRTH WAS A WATERSHED
IN THE LONG QUEST FOR FREEDOM.

OURS WAS THE FIRST SOCIETY OPENLY TO DEFINE ITSELF
IN TERMS OF BOTH SPIRITUALITY AND HUMAN LIBERTY.

IT IS THAT UNIQUE SELF-DEFINITION WHICH HAS GIVEN US
A TRANSCENDENT APPEAL -- BUT IT ALSO IMPOSES ON US A SPECIAL
OBLIGATION.

OUR GREATNESS LIES IN THE ASSUMPTION OF THOSE MORAL
DUTIES WHICH, WHEN ASSUMED, SEEM INVARIABLY TO BE IN OUR
OWN BEST INTERESTS.

AS WE BEGIN OUR THIRD CENTURY IT IS WELL TO CONSIDER
WHAT WE HAVE BEEN AND WHAT WE OUGHT TO BE.

THE BOLD AND BRILLIANT DREAM WHICH ENTRANCED THE
FOUNDERS OF OUR NATION STILL AWAITS ITS CONSUMMATION.

I HAVE NO NEW DREAM TO RELATE, BUT URGE A FRESH FAITH
IN THE OLD DREAM.

ONCE AGAIN OUR DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM HAS GIVEN US ITS
SINGULAR COMBINATION OF CONTINUITY AND CHANGE.

OUR RECENT MISTAKES MAY LIKELY BRING A RESURGENT COMMITMENT TO THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF OUR NATION, BECAUSE WE KNOW THAT IF WE DESPISE OUR OWN GOVERNMENT WE HAVE NO FUTURE.

WE RECALL IN SPECIAL TIMES WHEN WE HAVE STOOD BRIEFLY, BUT MAGNIFICENTLY, UNITED; IN THOSE TIMES NO PRIZE WAS BEYOND OUR GRASP.

BUT WE CANNOT DWELL UPON REMEMBERED GLORY.

WE CANNOT AFFORD TO DRIFT.

WE MUST END DISCRIMINATION, PROTECT THE WEAK, REDUCE WASTE, CONTROL CRIME, PUT OUR PEOPLE TO WORK, STRENGTHEN OUR FAMILIES, INSURE FAIR TAXATION, PROTECT PERSONAL PRIVACY, AND SET AND ACHIEVE WORTHY GOALS IN AGRICULTURE, HEALTH CARE, EDUCATION, AND IN THE SUPPLY OF ENERGY.

OUR GOVERNMENT MUST AT THE SAME TIME BE COMPETENT AND COMPASSIONATE.

WE ARE BEING FORCED TO SEARCH FOR MORE OPENNESS AND CANDOR; WE MUST STRIP AWAY SECRECY, AND MOVE THROUGH UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE TO MAKE OUR PEOPLE AND OUR GOVERNMENT ONE AND THE SAME.

WE ARE LEARNING THAT "MORE" IS NOT NECESSARILY BETTER, THAT EVEN OUR GREAT NATION HAS ITS RECOGNIZED LIMITS, AND THAT WE CAN NEITHER ANSWER ALL QUESTIONS NOR SOLVE ALL PROBLEMS.

BUT THE AMERICAN DREAM ENDURES.

WE REJECT THE PROSPECT OF FAILURE OR MEDIOCRITY OR AN INFERIOR QUALITY OF LIFE FOR ANY PERSON.

WE HAVE ALREADY FOUND A HIGH DEGREE OF PERSONAL LIBERTY, AND WE ARE STRUGGLING TO ENHANCE EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY.

OUR NATION'S BEST IS STILL AHEAD.

THE WORLD STILL LOOKS TO US FOR LEADERSHIP.

WE ARE A STRONG NATION AND WE WILL MAINTAIN A STRENGTH
SO SUFFICIENT THAT IT NEED NOT BE PROVEN IN COMBAT.

WE CAN DEPEND UPON THIS QUIET STRENGTH, WHICH IS BASED
NOT MERELY ON THE SIZE OF AN ARSENAL, BUT ON THE NOBILITY
OF OUR IDEAS.

WE HAVE NO FEAR OF PEACEFUL COMPETITION.

WE KNOW THAT THE TRUST WHICH OUR NATION EARNS IS
ESSENTIAL TO ITS STRENGTH.

TO BE TRUE TO OURSELVES, WE MUST BE TRUE TO OTHERS.

THE WORLD ITSELF IS NOW DOMINATED BY A NEW SPIRIT,
BY PEOPLES MORE NUMEROUS AND MORE POLITICALLY AWARE,
CRAVING AND NOW DEMANDING THEIR PLACE IN THE SUN -- NOT
JUST FOR THE BENEFIT OF THEIR OWN PHYSICAL CONDITION,
BUT FOR BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS.

THE PASSION FOR FREEDOM IN THE WORLD IS ON THE
RISE.

TAPPING THIS NEW SPIRIT, THERE CAN BE NO NOBLER NOR MORE AMBITIOUS TASK FOR AMERICA TO UNDERTAKE ON THIS DAY OF A NEW BEGINNING THAN TO HELP SHAPE A JUST AND PEACEFUL WORLD THAT IS TRULY HUMANE.

WE WILL HELP OTHER NATIONS SEEK LASTING AGREEMENTS WHERE THE PRESENT BALANCE OF POWER IS FRAGILE OR WHERE GOODWILL SEEMS A TEMPORARY STATE, AND WE URGE ALL OTHER PEOPLE TO JOIN US AS ARCHITECTS OF PEACE.

WE WILL NOT BEHAVE ABROAD IN A WAY WHICH WOULD VIOLATE OUR RULES AND STANDARDS HERE AT HOME.

WE WILL FIGHT OUR WARS AGAINST POVERTY, IGNORANCE AND INJUSTICE, FOR THOSE ARE THE ENEMIES AGAINST WHICH OUR FORCES CAN BE NOBLY MARSHALLED.

WE CANNOT DOMINATE OTHER NATIONS NOR BE RIGIDLY MORALISTIC, BUT OUR SENSE OF MORALITY DICTATES A CLEAR-CUT PREFERENCE FOR THOSE SOCIETIES WHICH SHARE WITH US AN ABIDING RESPECT FOR INDIVIDUAL HUMAN RIGHTS.

THIRD DRAFT
PAGE EIGHT

BECAUSE WE ARE FREE WE CAN NEVER BE INDIFFERENT TO
THE FATE OF FREEDOM ELSEWHERE.

WE MUST BEWARE OF ILLUSIONS, AND NEVER LET MORALITY
BE CONFUSED WITH WEAKNESS.

WE DO NOT SEEK TO INTIMIDATE BUT IT IS CLEAR THAT
A WORLD WHICH OTHERS CAN DOMINATE WITH IMPUGNITY WOULD
BE INHOSPITABLE TO DECENCY AND CONTRARY TO THE WELL-
BEING OF ALL PEOPLE.

IN THAT SETTING, AMERICAN POWER WILL REMAIN A CON-
STANT AND CREDIBLE FACTOR OF STABILITY.

EVERYONE MUST KNOW THAT ADEQUATE MILITARY STRENGTH --
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IF REQUIRED.

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OUR NATION CAN BE STRONG ABROAD ONLY IF IT IS STRONG AT HOME, AND THE BEST WAY TO ENHANCE FREEDOM FOR OTHERS IS TO DEMONSTRATE THAT OUR DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM IS WORTHY OF EMULATION.

FOREIGN TRADE AND JOBS FOR OUR WORKERS, THE WORLD ECONOMY AND DOMESTIC PROSPERITY ARE ALL MUTUALLY SUPPORTIVE; AND AS WE ARE CONCERNED FOR HUNGRY PEOPLE IN OTHER NATIONS WE MUST MEET THE NEEDS OF THE DISADVANTAGED IN OUR OWN LAND.

WE CAN HELP TO REDUCE SUFFERING, INJUSTICE, POLLUTION, THE THREAT OF WAR AND THE OPPRESSION OF SERVITUDE.

WE SEE THAT OUR COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS MUST BE ABSOLUTE, AND THAT LAWS CAN BE FAIR, OUR WORLD'S BEAUTY PRESERVED, THAT THE POWERFUL NEED NOT PERSECUTE THE WEAK, AND THAT HUMAN DIGNITY CAN BE ENHANCED.

ALTHOUGH MILITARILY SECURE, WE ARE STILL ENGAGED IN A MASSIVE WORLDWIDE ARMAMENTS RACE DESIGNED TO INSURE CONTINUING EQUIVALENT STRENGTH AMONG POTENTIAL ADVERSARIES.

WE PLEDGE PERSEVERANCE AND WISDOM IN OUR EFFORTS TO
LIMIT THE WORLD'S ARMAMENTS TO THOSE NECESSARY FOR EACH
NATION'S OWN DOMESTIC SAFETY, AND WILL MOVE THIS YEAR A
STEP TOWARD OUR ULTIMATE GOAL -- THE ELIMINATION OF ALL
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WE MUST ASSESS OUR FAULTS, CHERISH DIVERSITY, RECOG-
NIZE OUR PHYSICAL LIMITATIONS, AND YET REMEMBER THAT THE
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IN A NEW SPIRIT OF FREEDOM AND COMMITMENT, IT IS
TIME TO REMEMBER THE ANCIENT PROPHET, AND TO RENEW OUR
SEARCH FOR HUMILITY, MERCY, AND JUSTICE.

INAUGURAL SPEECH
THIRD DRAFT

① FOR MYSELF AND OUR NATION, I WANT TO THANK MY PREDE-
CESSOR, ^{FOR ALL HE HAS DONE} ~~[WHO HAS DONE SO MUCH]~~ TO HEAL OUR LAND.

2 [HERE] BEFORE ME IS THE BIBLE USED WHEN GEORGE WASHINGTON
WAS SWORN IN AS OUR FIRST PRESIDENT IN 1789. ~~AND~~ I HAVE JUST
TAKEN MY OWN OATH OF OFFICE ON THE ^{BIBLE} ~~ONE~~ MY MOTHER GAVE ME AS A BOY
[MANY YEARS AGO] OPENED TO AN ADMONITION GIVEN TO US 2500
YEARS AGO BY THE PROPHET MICAH:

2 ["HE HATH SHOWED THEE, O MAN, WHAT IS GOOD;] AND WHAT
DOTH THE LORD REQUIRE OF THEE, BUT TO DO JUSTLY, AND TO
LOVE MERCY, AND TO WALK HUMBLY WITH THY GOD." (MICAH 6:8)

2 THIS INAUGURATION CEREMONY MARKS A NEW BEGINNING,
A NEW DEDICATION WITHIN OUR GOVERNMENT, AND A NEW SPIRIT
AMONG OUR PEOPLE.

^(SENSE AND PROCLAIM)
A PRESIDENT MAY DETECT AND ANNOUNCE A NEW SPIRIT, BUT
ONLY A PEOPLE CAN PROVIDE IT.

YOU HAVE GIVEN ME A GREAT RESPONSIBILITY - TO STAY
^(TO BE WORTHY OF YOU)
CLOSE TO YOU AND TO EXEMPLIFY WHAT YOU ARE.

YOUR STRENGTH CAN COMPENSATE FOR MY WEAKNESS, ~~AND~~ YOUR
WISDOM CAN HELP TO MINIMIZE MY MISTAKES.

*As I have said so many times before - I owe special
interests nothing. I owe you the people everything.*

LET US CREATE TOGETHER A NEW NATIONAL SPIRIT OF UNITY
AND TRUST.

LET US LEARN TOGETHER AND LAUGH TOGETHER AND WORK
TOGETHER AND PRAY TOGETHER, CONFIDENT THAT IN THE END WE
WILL TRIUMPH-TOGETHER IN THE RIGHT.

^{OUR COUNTRY}
~~THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA~~ IS STRONG BECAUSE IT
~~IS MANY NATIONS IN ONE~~; AND NOT JUST A PLACE, BUT AN IDEA.

TWO CENTURIES AGO OUR NATION'S BIRTH WAS A ^{MILESTONE} ~~WATERSHED~~
IN THE LONG QUEST FOR FREEDOM.

OURS WAS THE FIRST SOCIETY OPENLY TO DEFINE ITSELF
IN TERMS OF ~~BOTH~~ SPIRITUAL~~ITY~~ AND HUMAN LIBERTY.

~~IT IS~~ THAT UNIQUE SELF-DEFINITION ~~WHICH~~ HAS GIVEN US
A TRANSCENDENT APPEAL -- ^{AND...IT} ~~BUT IT ALSO~~ IMPOSES ON US A SPECIAL
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OUR GREATNESS LIES IN THE ASSUMPTION OF THOSE MORAL
DUTIES WHICH, WHEN ASSUMED, SEEM INVARIABLY TO BE IN OUR
OWN BEST INTERESTS.

AS WE BEGIN OUR THIRD CENTURY IT IS WELL TO CONSIDER
WHAT WE HAVE BEEN AND WHAT WE OUGHT TO BE.

THE BOLD AND BRILLIANT DREAM WHICH ENTRANCED THE
FOUNDERS OF OUR NATION STILL AWAITS ITS CONSUMMATION.

I HAVE NO NEW DREAM TO RELATE, BUT ^(RATHER) URGE A FRESH FAITH
IN THE OLD DREAM.

ONCE AGAIN OUR DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM HAS GIVEN US ITS
SINGULAR COMBINATION OF CONTINUITY AND CHANGE.

OUR RECENT MISTAKES ~~MAY LIKELY~~ BRING A RESURGENT
COMMITMENT TO THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF OUR NATION, ~~BECAUSE~~ FDR
WE KNOW THAT IF WE DESPISE OUR OWN GOVERNMENT WE HAVE NO
FUTURE.

WE RECALL ~~IN~~ SPECIAL TIMES WHEN WE HAVE STOOD BRIEFLY,
BUT MAGNIFICENTLY, UNITED; IN THOSE TIMES NO PRIZE WAS
BEYOND OUR GRASP.

BUT WE CANNOT DWELL UPON REMEMBERED GLORY.

WE CANNOT AFFORD TO DRIFT.

WE MUST END DISCRIMINATION, PROTECT THE WEAK, ⁽³⁾ REDUCE
WASTE, ⁽⁴⁾ CONTROL CRIME, ⁽¹⁾ PUT OUR PEOPLE TO WORK, STRENGTHEN
OUR FAMILIES, ⁽²⁾ INSURE FAIR TAXATION, PROTECT PERSONAL PRI-
VACY, AND SET AND ACHIEVE WORTHY GOALS IN AGRICULTURE,
HEALTH CARE, EDUCATION, AND IN THE SUPPLY OF ENERGY.

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BUT THE AMERICAN DREAM ENDURES.

WE REJECT THE PROSPECT OF FAILURE OR MEDIOCRITY OR AN INFERIOR QUALITY OF LIFE FOR ANY PERSON.

WE HAVE ALREADY FOUND A HIGH DEGREE OF PERSONAL LIBERTY, AND WE ARE STRUGGLING TO ENHANCE EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY.

OUR NATION'S BEST IS STILL AHEAD.

[THE WORLD STILL LOOKS TO US FOR LEADERSHIP.]

WE ARE A STRONG NATION AND WE WILL MAINTAIN A STRENGTH
SO SUFFICIENT THAT IT NEED NOT BE PROVEN IN COMBAT.

WE CAN DEPEND UPON THIS QUIET STRENGTH, WHICH IS BASED
NOT MERELY ON THE SIZE OF AN ARSENAL, BUT ON THE NOBILITY
OF OUR IDEAS.

→ *Our greatest lies are hump.*
WE HAVE NO FEAR OF PEACEFUL COMPETITION.

WE KNOW THAT THE TRUST WHICH OUR NATION EARNS IS
ESSENTIAL TO ITS STRENGTH.

TO BE TRUE TO OURSELVES, WE MUST BE TRUE TO OTHERS.

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AND INJUSTICE, FOR THOSE ARE THE ENEMIES AGAINST WHICH
OUR FORCES CAN BE ^{JUSTLY} ~~NOBLY~~ MARSHALLED.

~~do not wish to~~
~~WE CANNOT DOMINATE OTHER NATIONS NOR BE RIGIDLY~~
~~MORALISTIC,~~ BUT OUR SENSE OF MORALITY DICTATES A CLEAR-
CUT PREFERENCE FOR THOSE SOCIETIES WHICH SHARE WITH US
AN ABIDING RESPECT FOR INDIVIDUAL HUMAN RIGHTS.

(DETERMINED TO REMAIN)
BECAUSE ~~WE ARE~~ FREE WE CAN NEVER BE INDIFFERENT TO
THE FATE OF FREEDOM ELSEWHERE.

WE ARE A PROUDLY IDEALISTIC NATION, BUT LET NO ONE CONFUSE OUR
~~WE MUST BEWARE OF ILLUSIONS, AND NEVER LET MORALITY~~
~~BE CONFUSED WITH WEAKNESS.~~

DOMINATE OTHERS
WE DO NOT SEEK TO INTIMIDATE BUT IT IS CLEAR THAT
A WORLD WHICH OTHERS CAN DOMINATE WITH IMPUNITY WOULD
BE INHOSPITABLE TO DECENCY AND CONTRARY TO THE WELL-
BEING OF ALL PEOPLE.

IN THIS IMPERFECT WORLD MUST
[IN THAT SETTING] AMERICAN POWER [WILL] REMAIN A CON-
STANT AND CREDIBLE FACTOR OF STABILITY.

EVERYONE MUST KNOW THAT ADEQUATE MILITARY STRENGTH --
TO DEFEND OUR INTERESTS, TO PRESERVE OUR IDEALS, AND TO
SAFEGUARD OUR FRIENDS -- WILL BE MAINTAINED, [AND KEPT READY
IF REQUIRED.]

WE WILL BE EVER VIGILANT AND NEVER VULNERABLE.

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FOREIGN TRADE AND JOBS FOR OUR WORKERS, THE WORLD ECONOMY AND DOMESTIC PROSPERITY ARE ALL MUTUALLY SUPPORTIVE; AND AS WE ARE CONCERNED FOR HUNGRY PEOPLE IN OTHER NATIONS WE MUST MEET THE NEEDS OF THE DISADVANTAGED IN OUR OWN LAND.

WE CAN HELP TO REDUCE SUFFERING, INJUSTICE, POLLUTION, THE THREAT OF WAR AND THE OPPRESSION OF SERVITUDE.

WE SEE THAT OUR COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS MUST BE ABSOLUTE, AND THAT LAWS CAN BE FAIR, OUR WORLD'S BEAUTY PRESERVED, THAT THE POWERFUL NEED NOT PERSECUTE THE WEAK, AND THAT HUMAN DIGNITY CAN BE ENHANCED.

ALTHOUGH MILITARILY SECURE, WE ARE STILL ENGAGED IN A MASSIVE WORLDWIDE ARMAMENTS RACE DESIGNED TO INSURE CONTINUING EQUIVALENT STRENGTH AMONG POTENTIAL ADVERSARIES.

WE PLEDGE PERSEVERANCE AND WISDOM IN OUR EFFORTS TO
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NATION'S OWN DOMESTIC SAFETY, AND WILL MOVE THIS YEAR A
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OF PEACE.]

SUCCESS CAN MEAN LIFE INSTEAD OF DEATH.

WITHIN US THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, THERE IS
EVIDENT A SOMBER, PURPOSEFUL, INEXORABLE REKINDLING OF HOPE.

WE MUST ASSESS OUR FAULTS, CHERISH DIVERSITY, RECOG-
NIZE OUR PHYSICAL LIMITATIONS, AND YET REMEMBER THAT THE
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IN A NEW SPIRIT OF FREEDOM AND COMMITMENT, IT IS
TIME TO REMEMBER THE ANCIENT PROPHET, AND TO RENEW OUR
SEARCH FOR HUMILITY, MERCY, AND JUSTICE.

INAUGURAL SPEECH
SECOND DRAFT

JANUARY 8, 1977

PEOPLE THEME - AT START

- ① greatness of people - ^{ceremony reflects} victory of people
② We've been hurt by war, scandal & economic distress -
But ③ today we seek new spirit, new unity, new commitment to old principles.

use Biblical quote

[ONCE AGAIN OUR DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM HAS GIVEN US ITS
UNIQUE COMBINATION OF CONTINUITY AND CHANGE.]

ONCE AGAIN WE HONOR NOT THE VICTORY OF AN INDIVIDUAL
BUT THE VINDICATION OF A ~~SYSTEM~~ *people - democracy*

set up "people theme"

THIS SOLEMN CEREMONY MARKS A NEW BEGINNING, AND THE
START OF A NEW DEDICATION WITHIN OUR GOVERNMENT.]

new spirit is one? or can be one? *There is* *this solemn ceremony marks*
[I CALL TODAY FOR] A NEW SPIRIT IN AMERICA, A RENEWAL
OF OUR TRADITIONAL VALUES, A RESTORATION OF OUR NATIONAL
UNITY, A RETURN TO PERSONAL TRUST AND UNDERSTANDING.

MAY DETECT AND ANNOUNCE

A PRESIDENT, [CAN CALL FOR] A NEW SPIRIT; A PEOPLE
MUST PROVIDE IT.

[A NEW SPIRIT MUST SPRING FROM OUR SHARED REALIZATION
OF THE OPPORTUNITIES THAT LIE AHEAD.]

JANUARY 8, 1977

[WE STAND AT A CROSSROADS IN HISTORY. WE HAVE LIVED
THROUGH DIFFICULT TIMES, AND THE FUTURE WILL NOT BE EASY.]
When challenge and are
[BUT IF] ADVERSITY [IS] OUR INSPIRATION, ^{*Then*} GREATNESS [^{*is surely*} CAN BE] OUR
REWARD.

OUR GOVERNMENT MUST ^{*constantly*} PROVE ITSELF WORTHY OF TRUST.
OUR GOVERNMENT MUST ALSO PROVE ITSELF COMPETENT TO MEET
THE CHALLENGES THAT LIE AHEAD, BOTH AT HOME AND ABROAD.

*worthy of
the people -
could make up
sure as basis
of "good as good
as people"
them*

LET OUR NEW SPIRIT BE ONE OF DETERMINATION. LET US
STRIVE TOGETHER, LET US LEARN TOGETHER, LET US LAUGH
TOGETHER, LET US WORK TOGETHER, LET US PRAY TOGETHER,
CONFIDENT THAT IN THE END WE WILL TRIUMPH TOGETHER. IN THE
RIGHT.] ?

[AS WE FACE THE CHALLENGES OF THE FUTURE, WE CAN BE
INSPIRED BY THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE PAST.]

THE BIRTH OF OUR NATION, TWO CENTURIES AGO, WAS A
MILESTONE IN HUMANITY'S ENDLESS QUEST FOR FREEDOM. OURS
WAS THE FIRST SOCIETY OPENLY TO DEFINE ITSELF IN TERMS
OF BOTH SPIRITUALITY AND OF HUMAN LIBERTY.

*A belief both in the supremacy of God
and the dignity (freedom?) of Man.*

JANUARY 8, 1977

THAT UNIQUE SELF-DEFINITION HAS GIVEN OUR NATION A
TRANSCENDENTAL APPEAL, AND IT HAS ALSO IMPOSED ON US A
SPECIAL MORAL OBLIGATION.

[TO BE TRUE TO OURSELVES, WE MUST BE TRUE TO OUR IDEALS,
WE MUST ASSUME OUR MORAL RESPONSIBILITIES, BOTH IN OUR OWN
NATION AND IN THE WORLD COMMUNITY.]

set [repeat "people" theme here - at start of domestic section]
AT HOME, WE MUST PROTECT PERSONAL LIBERTY AND CONTINUE
THE STRUGGLE FOR EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL PEOPLE.

WE MUST STRIP AWAY SECRECY IN GOVERNMENT.

WE MUST MOVE THROUGH UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE TO MAKE OUR
PEOPLE AND OUR GOVERNMENT ONE AND THE SAME.

WE MUST ACHIEVE SWIFT AND EQUAL JUSTICE FOR ALL, AND
WE MUST MOVE VIGOROUSLY TO ROOT OUT BOTH CRIME AND ITS
CAUSES.

WE MUST REORGANIZE OUR GOVERNMENT, SO THAT IT SERVES
OUR PEOPLE EFFICIENTLY AND EFFECTIVELY.

*govt must
reflect
people who are
efficient, competent
compassionate -
honest HONEST,
ETC.*

JANUARY 8, 1977

WE MUST HAVE A TAX SYSTEM THAT IS BOTH SIMPLE AND FAIR.

WE MUST SEEK RENEWED COOPERATION BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT
AND CONGRESS.

WE MUST SEE THAT EVERY ACTION OF GOVERNMENT STRENGTHENS
AND SUPPORTS THE AMERICAN FAMILY.

WE MUST RESTORE OUR ECONOMIC HEALTH, AND WE MUST PUT
OUR PEOPLE BACK TO WORK.

EVEN AS WE RECOGNIZE THE LIMITS OF GOVERNMENT, WE MUST
REJECT THE PROSPECT OF MEDIOCRITY OR OF AN INFERIOR QUALITY
OF LIFE. AS WE SEEK BETTER EDUCATION FOR OUR CHILDREN, AS
WE SEEK ADEQUATE HEALTH CARE FOR EVERY AMERICAN, AS WE CON-
FRONT THE ENERGY CRISIS, AS WE SEEK TO PRESERVE OUR NATION'S
BEAUTY, WE MUST BE TRUE TO OUR TRADITION OF LEADERSHIP AND
PROGRESS AND EXCELLENCE.

WE MUST NEVER DOUBT THAT OUR NATION'S BEST IS
STILL AHEAD OF US, IF WE ONLY HAVE THE BOLDNESS TO
ACHIEVE IT.

JANUARY 8, 1977

[WE MUST ALWAYS REMEMBER THAT ONLY IF WE PURSUE
JUSTICE AT HOME CAN WE WIN RESPECT ABROAD.]

WE CAN BE STRONG ABROAD ONLY IF WE ARE STRONG AT
HOME. FOREIGN TRADE AND JOBS FOR AMERICAN WORKERS, THE
WORLD ECONOMY AND DOMESTIC PROSPERITY, ARE ALL MUTUALLY
SUPPORTIVE, AND OUR CONCERN FOR THOSE WHO LIVE IN POVERTY
IN OUR OWN COUNTRY MUST BE PART OF A LARGER CONCERN FOR
THOSE WHO SUFFER POVERTY THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

Like our domestic policy

OUR FOREIGN POLICY CAN BE GREAT[^] [ONLY] IF IT REFLECTS
NOT ONLY THE STRENGTH OF OUR PEOPLE, BUT THE MORALITY,
THE DECENCY, AND THE COMPASSION OF OUR PEOPLE.

WE MUST NOT BEHAVE ABROAD IN WAYS WHICH VIOLATE THE
STANDARDS WE OBSERVE AT HOME. YOU AND I WOULD NOT PLOT
MURDER, AND NEITHER MUST THE AGENTS OF OUR GOVERNMENT.

*move up
to start
section w/
idea that
foreign policy
must reflect
character
of people?*

AS A FREE PEOPLE, WE ~~AM~~ CANNOT BE INDIFFERENT TO THE
FATE OF FREEDOM ELSEWHERE. ~~MR~~ [WE MUST BE THE CHAMPIONS
OF HUMAN RIGHTS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, AND THE ENEMIES OF TYRANY
~~XX~~ WHEREEVER IT EXISTS, *including the tyranny of senseless terrorism.*]

WE MUST REMEMBER THAT A NEW SPIRIT IS ~~SWEEPING~~ SWEEPING THE
ENTIRE WORLD TODAY, AS MORE AND MORE PEOPLE¹⁵ AND NATIONS DEMAND
~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ PERSONAL SECURITY AND POLITICAL
FREEDOM. MEN AND WOMEN EVERYWHERE ARE SEEKING AN END TO
POVERTY, ILLITERACY, DISEASE AND ~~OVER~~ OVERPOPULATION. WE MUST BE
THE LEADERS IN THAT GREAT GLOBAL CRUSADE.

WE MUST HELP TO SHAPE A JUST AND PEACEFUL WORLD ORDER.
IN THAT ENDEAVOR, WE MUST RELY ON QUIET STRENGTH, NOT MERELY
ON THE SIZE OF OUR ARSENAL BUT ON THE STRENGTH OF OUR IDEALS.

WE SEEK THE FRIENDSHIP OF EVERY NATION, AND WE ~~NEED NOT~~ HAVE NO FEAR OF PEACEFUL COMPETITION WITH ANY NATION. WE BELIEVE THAT COMPETITION CAN GO HAND IN HAND WITH INCREASED UNDERSTANDING AND A LESSENING OF DIFFERENCES.

OURS¹⁵[IN] A STRONG NATION AND MUST REMAIN STRONG, WITH A
MILITARY MIGHT SO APPARENT THAT IT NEED NOT BE PROVEN IN COMBAT.
OUR POWER MUST BE A CONSTANT AND CREDIBLE FACTOR OF WORLD
STABILITY. NO ONE NEED DOUBT THAT WE WILL DEFEND OUR REAL AND
VITAL INTERESTS, HONOR OUR COMMITMENTS AND SAFEGUARD OUR ALLIES.

WE ~~WILL EXERCISE OUR NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY~~
PLEDGE TO ALL THE WORLD THAT WE WILL ~~WORK FOR PEACE~~ PURSUE PEACE
WITH PASSION AND WITH PATIENCE. [WE WILL WORK FOR PEACE, AND WE
WILL PRAY FOR PEACE, AND, GOD WILLING, WE WILL HAVE PEACE.]

IN THAT QUEST, WE WILL SEEK A WORLDWIDE REDUCTION

8
6866

Our goal must be

WE SEEK ~~TO~~ A ~~NEW~~ GOVERNMENT, AND A NATION, THAT LIVES
OUR
UP TO THE MAJESTY OF ~~THE~~ CONSTITUTION AND TO THE SIMPLE
DECENCY OF OUR PEOPLE.

All we seek, as I have said so many times, is

OUR GOAL IS ~~BOTH SIMPLE AND GLORIOUS~~. TO HAVE AN AMERICA
GOVERNMENT AS GOOD AND DECENT AND STRONG AND COMPETENT AND
FILLED WITH LOVE AS ARE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

WORKING TOGETHER, AND WITH GOD'S HELP, ~~WE~~ WE CAN AND
WILL ACHIEVE THAT GOAL.

INAUGURAL SPEECH
FOURTH DRAFT

Cor-
This is your draft with
only suggested additions as marked.
Thought you might need it to ~~make~~ ^{help}
your own final editing.

Final draft
JC

FOR MYSELF AND OUR NATION, I WANT TO THANK MY PREDECESSOR
FOR ALL HE HAS DONE TO HEAL OUR LAND.

~~IN THE RITUAL WE OBSERVE TODAY, ONCE AGAIN WITH AN OUTWARD~~
~~AND PHYSICAL CEREMONY WE ATTEST TO THE INNER AND SPIRITUAL STRENGTH~~
~~OF OUR NATION. [AS ALWAYS, THIS PASSAGE MARKS THE CONTINUITY OF~~
~~PAST PROMISES AND THE HOPE FOR NEW BEGINNINGS.]~~
^{once again}

HERE BEFORE ME IS THE BIBLE USED IN THE INAUGURATION OF OUR
FIRST PRESIDENT IN 1789, AND I HAVE JUST TAKEN MY OWN OATH OF
OFFICE ON THE BIBLE MY MOTHER GAVE ME ^{a few} ~~MANY~~ YEARS AGO, OPENED TO
A TIMELESS ADMONITION FROM THE ANCIENT PROPHET MICAH:

"HE HATH SHOWED THEE, O MAN, WHAT IS GOOD; AND WHAT DOETH
THE LORD REQUIRE OF THEE, BUT TO DO JUSTLY, AND TO LOVE MERCY,
AND TO WALK HUMBLY WITH THY GOD." (MICAH 6:8)

As my high school teacher, Miss Julia Coleman,
used to say, "We must adjust to changing times
and still hold to unchanging principles."

ELECTROSTATIC REPRODUCTION MADE FOR
PRESERVATION PURPOSES

FOURTH DRAFT
PAGE TWO

THIS INAUGURATION CEREMONY MARKS A NEW BEGINNING, A NEW
DEDICATION WITHIN OUR GOVERNMENT, AND A NEW SPIRIT AMONG ^{us all.} OUR
PEOPLE. A PRESIDENT MAY SENSE AND PROCLAIM ^{that} A NEW SPIRIT,
BUT ONLY A PEOPLE CAN PROVIDE IT.

TWO CENTURIES AGO OUR NATION'S BIRTH WAS A MILESTONE IN
THE LONG QUEST FOR FREEDOM, BUT THE BOLD AND BRILLIANT DREAM
WHICH ^{excited} ~~ENTRANCED~~ THE FOUNDERS OF OUR NATION STILL AWAITS ITS ^{full}
^{completion} ~~CONSUMMATION~~ I HAVE NO NEW DREAM TO ^{set forth today,} ~~RELATE~~, BUT RATHER URGE
A FRESH FAITH IN THE OLD DREAM.

OURS WAS THE FIRST SOCIETY OPENLY TO DEFINE ITSELF IN
TERMS OF BOTH SPIRITUALITY AND OF HUMAN LIBERTY. IT IS THAT
UNIQUE SELF-DEFINITION WHICH HAS GIVEN US ^{an exceptional} ~~A TRANSCENDENT~~
APPEAL -- BUT IT ALSO IMPOSES ON US A SPECIAL OBLIGATION. ^{to take on} ~~THAT~~
~~OBLIGATION LIES IN THE ASSUMPTION OF~~ THOSE MORAL DUTIES WHICH,
WHEN ASSUMED, SEEM INVARIABLY TO BE IN OUR OWN BEST INTERESTS.

FOURTH DRAFT
PAGE THREE

YOU HAVE GIVEN ME A GREAT RESPONSIBILITY -- TO STAY CLOSE
TO YOU, TO BE WORTHY OF YOU, AND TO EXEMPLIFY WHAT YOU ARE. LET
US CREATE TOGETHER A NEW NATIONAL SPIRIT OF UNITY AND TRUST. YOUR
STRENGTH CAN COMPENSATE FOR MY WEAKNESS, AND YOUR WISDOM CAN HELP
TO MINIMIZE MY MISTAKES.

LET US LEARN TOGETHER AND LAUGH TOGETHER AND WORK TOGETHER
AND PRAY TOGETHER, CONFIDENT THAT IN THE END WE WILL TRIUMPH
TOGETHER IN THE RIGHT.

~~[OUR NATION'S BEST IS STILL AHEAD.]~~

THE AMERICAN DREAM ENDURES. We must once again have ^{full} faith
in our country - and in one another. I believe America
can be better. We can be stronger than before.

LET OUR RECENT MISTAKES BRING A RESURGENT COMMITMENT TO THE
BASIC PRINCIPLES OF OUR NATION, FOR WE KNOW THAT IF WE DESPISE
OUR OWN GOVERNMENT WE HAVE NO FUTURE.

WE RECALL IN SPECIAL TIMES WHEN WE HAVE STOOD BRIEFLY, BUT
MAGNIFICENTLY, UNITED; IN THOSE TIMES NO PRIZE WAS BEYOND OUR
GRASP. ^P BUT WE CANNOT DWELL UPON REMEMBERED ^mGLORY. WE CANNOT

AFFORD TO DRIFT. WE REJECT THE PROSPECT OF FAILURE OR MEDIOCRITY
OR AN INFERIOR QUALITY OF LIFE FOR ANY PERSON.

OUR GOVERNMENT MUST AT THE SAME TIME BE ^{both} COMPETENT AND
COMPASSIONATE. ^{IF} OUR NATION CAN BE STRONG ABROAD ONLY IF IT
IS STRONG AT HOME, AND WE KNOW THAT THE BEST WAY TO ENHANCE
FREEDOM ^{in other lands} ~~FOR OTHERS~~ ^{here} IS TO DEMONSTRATE THAT OUR DEMOCRATIC
SYSTEM IS WORTHY OF EMULATION.

WE HAVE ALREADY FOUND A HIGH DEGREE OF PERSONAL LIBERTY,
AND WE ARE NOW STRUGGLING TO ENHANCE EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY.
OUR COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS MUST BE ABSOLUTE, OUR LAWS
FAIR, OUR ^{natural} ~~WORLD'S~~ BEAUTY PRESERVED; THE POWERFUL MUST NOT
PERSECUTE THE WEAK, AND HUMAN DIGNITY MUST BE ENHANCED.

WE HAVE LEARNED THAT "MORE" IS NOT NECESSARILY "BETTER", THAT
EVEN OUR GREAT NATION HAS ITS RECOGNIZED LIMITS, AND THAT WE CAN
NEITHER ANSWER ALL QUESTIONS NOR SOLVE ALL PROBLEMS. *We cannot afford to do
everything, nor can we afford to lack boldness as we meet the
future. So together in a spirit of individual sacrifice for the
common good, we must simply do our best.*
TO BE TRUE TO OURSELVES, WE MUST BE TRUE TO OTHERS. WE WILL
^{in foreign places so as to}
NOT BEHAVE ~~ABROAD IN A WAY WHICH WOULD~~ VIOLATE OUR RULES AND STANDARDS
HERE AT HOME, FOR WE KNOW THAT THE TRUST WHICH OUR NATION EARNS

IS ESSENTIAL TO ITS STRENGTH.

THE WORLD ITSELF IS NOW DOMINATED BY A NEW SPIRIT. ~~[BY]~~
PEOPLES MORE NUMEROUS AND MORE POLITICALLY AWARE ^{are} CRAVING AND
NOW DEMANDING THEIR PLACE IN THE SUN -- NOT JUST FOR THE
BENEFIT OF THEIR OWN PHYSICAL CONDITION, BUT FOR BASIC HUMAN
RIGHTS.

THE PASSION FOR FREEDOM ~~[IN THE WORLD]~~ IS ON THE RISE.
TAPPING THIS NEW SPIRIT, THERE CAN BE NO MORE NOBLE ^R ~~OR~~ NOR MORE
AMBITIOUS TASK FOR AMERICA TO UNDERTAKE ON THIS DAY OF A
NEW BEGINNING THAN TO HELP SHAPE A JUST AND PEACEFUL WORLD
THAT IS TRULY HUMANE.

WE ARE A STRONG NATION AND WE WILL MAINTAIN ~~[A]~~ STRENGTH
SO SUFFICIENT THAT IT NEED NOT BE PROVEN IN COMBAT -- A QUIET
STRENGTH BASED NOT MERELY ON THE SIZE OF AN ARSENAL, BUT ON
THE NOBILITY OF ~~[OUR]~~ IDEAS.

WE WILL BE EVER VIGILANT AND NEVER VULNERABLE, ^{and we will} ~~FIGHTING~~
OUR WARS AGAINST POVERTY, IGNORANCE AND INJUSTICE, FOR THOSE
ARE THE ENEMIES AGAINST WHICH OUR FORCES CAN BE ^{honorably} ~~[NOBLY]~~ MARSHALLED.

FOURTH DRAFT
PAGE SIX

WE ARE A PROUDLY IDEALISTIC NATION, BUT LET NO ONE
CONFUSE OUR IDEALISM WITH WEAKNESS.^{HP} BECAUSE WE ARE FREE
WE CAN NEVER BE INDIFFERENT TO THE FATE OF FREEDOM ELSEWHERE.
OUR^{moral} SENSE ~~[OF MORALITY]~~ DICTATES A CLEARCUT PREFERENCE FOR THOSE
SOCIETIES WHICH SHARE WITH US AN ABIDING RESPECT FOR INDIVIDUAL
HUMAN RIGHTS.

WE DO NOT SEEK TO INTIMIDATE, BUT IT IS CLEAR THAT A
WORLD WHICH OTHERS CAN DOMINATE WITH IMPUNITY WOULD BE
INHOSPITABLE TO DECENCY AND ^{a threat} ~~[CONTRARY]~~ TO THE WELL-BEING OF
ALL PEOPLE.

FOURTH DRAFT
PAGE SEVEN

THE WORLD IS STILL ENGAGED IN A MASSIVE ARMAMENTS RACE
DESIGNED TO INSURE CONTINUING EQUIVALENT STRENGTH AMONG
POTENTIAL ADVERSARIES. WE PLEDGE PERSEVERANCE AND WISDOM
IN OUR EFFORTS TO LIMIT THE WORLD'S ARMAMENTS TO THOSE NECESSARY
FOR EACH NATION'S OWN DOMESTIC SAFETY. WE WILL MOVE THIS YEAR
A STEP TOWARD OUR ULTIMATE GOAL -- THE ELIMINATION OF ALL NUCLEAR
WEAPONS FROM THIS EARTH.

WE URGE ALL OTHER PEOPLE TO JOIN US, FOR SUCCESS CAN
MEAN LIFE INSTEAD OF DEATH.

WITHIN US, THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, THERE IS EVIDENT
A ^{serious} [SOMBER] AND PURPOSEFUL REKINDLING OF [HOPE.] confidence, and

ELECTROSTATIC REPRODUCTION MADE FOR
PRESERVATION PURPOSES

Join in the
I, ~~WOULD~~ HOPE THAT WHEN MY TIME AS YOUR PRESIDENT HAS ENDED,

PEOPLE MIGHT SAY THIS ABOUT OUR NATION:

*that we had remembered the words of Micah and renewed
our search for humility, mercy and justice;*

THAT WE HAD TORN DOWN THE BARRIERS THAT SEPARATED THOSE OF
DIFFERENT RACE AND REGION AND ~~[SEX AND]~~ RELIGION, AND WHERE THERE
HAD BEEN MISTRUST, BUILT UNITY, WITH A RESPECT FOR DIVERSITY;

THAT WE HAD FOUND PRODUCTIVE WORK FOR ^{*-those*} ~~[ALL OUR PEOPLE]~~ ABLE
TO PERFORM IT;

THAT WE HAD STRENGTHENED THE AMERICAN FAMILY, WHICH IS THE
BASIS OF OUR SOCIETY;

THAT WE HAD ENSURED RESPECT FOR THE LAW, AND EQUAL TREATMENT
UNDER THE LAW, FOR THE WEAK AND THE POWERFUL; *the rich and the poor;*

AND THAT WE HAD ENABLED OUR PEOPLE TO BE PROUD OF THEIR
OWN GOVERNMENT ONCE AGAIN.

I WOULD HOPE THAT THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD MIGHT SAY THAT
WE HAD BUILT A LASTING PEACE, BASED NOT ON WEAPONS OF WAR BUT ON

FOURTH DRAFT
PAGE NINE

INTERNATIONAL POLICIES WHICH REFLECT OUR ^{own most precious} ~~DEEPEST MORAL~~ VALUES.

THESE ARE NOT JUST MY GOALS, BUT OUR COMMON HOPES. AND
THEY WILL NOT BE MY ACCOMPLISHMENTS, BUT THE AFFIRMATION OF
OUR NATION'S CONTINUING MORAL STRENGTH ^{and} ~~and~~ OUR BELIEF IN AN
UNDIMINISHED, EVER-EXPANDING AMERICAN DREAM. ~~f~~

~~[IT IS TIME TO REMEMBER THE ANCIENT PROPHET, AND TO RENEW
OUR SEARCH FOR HUMILITY, MERCY AND JUSTICE.]~~

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

INAUGURAL SPEECH

FINAL COPY

FOR MYSELF AND OUR NATION, I WANT TO THANK MY
PREDECESSOR FOR ALL HE HAS DONE TO HEAL OUR LAND.

IN THIS OUTWARD AND PHYSICAL CEREMONY WE ATTEST
ONCE AGAIN TO THE INNER AND SPIRITUAL STRENGTH OF OUR
NATION.

AS MY HIGH SCHOOL TEACHER, MISS JULIA COLEMAN,
USED TO SAY, "WE MUST ADJUST TO CHANGING TIMES AND
STILL HOLD TO UNCHANGING PRINCIPLES."

HERE BEFORE ME IS THE BIBLE USED IN THE INAUGURATION
OF OUR FIRST PRESIDENT IN 1789, AND I HAVE JUST TAKEN MY
OWN OATH OF OFFICE ON THE BIBLE MY MOTHER GAVE ME A FEW
YEARS AGO, OPENED TO A TIMELESS ADMONITION FROM THE
ANCIENT PROPHET MICAH:

FINAL COPY

PAGE TWO

"HE HATH SHOWED THEE, O MAN, WHAT IS GOOD; AND
WHAT DOTH THE LORD REQUIRE OF THEE, BUT TO DO JUSTLY,
AND TO LOVE MERCY, AND TO WALK HUMBLY WITH THY GOD."
(MICAH 6:8)

THIS INAUGURATION CEREMONY MARKS A NEW BEGINNING,
A NEW DEDICATION WITHIN OUR GOVERNMENT, AND A NEW SPIRIT
AMONG US ALL. A PRESIDENT MAY SENSE AND PROCLAIM THAT
NEW SPIRIT, BUT ONLY A PEOPLE CAN PROVIDE IT.

TWO CENTURIES AGO OUR NATION'S BIRTH WAS A MILE-
STONE IN THE LONG QUEST FOR FREEDOM, BUT THE BOLD AND
BRILLIANT DREAM WHICH EXCITED THE FOUNDERS OF OUR NATION
STILL AWAITS ITS ^{Consummation.} ~~FULL COMPLETION.~~ I HAVE NO NEW DREAM
TO SET FORTH TODAY, BUT RATHER URGE A FRESH FAITH IN
THE OLD DREAM.

OURS WAS THE FIRST SOCIETY OPENLY TO DEFINE ITSELF
IN TERMS OF BOTH SPIRITUALITY AND OF HUMAN LIBERTY. IT
IS THAT UNIQUE SELF-DEFINITION WHICH HAS GIVEN US AN

FINAL COPY

PAGE THREE

EXCEPTIONAL APPEAL -- BUT IT ALSO IMPOSES ON US A SPECIAL OBLIGATION -- TO TAKE ON THOSE MORAL DUTIES WHICH, WHEN ASSUMED, SEEM INVARIABLY TO BE IN OUR OWN BEST INTERESTS.

YOU HAVE GIVEN ME A GREAT RESPONSIBILITY -- TO STAY CLOSE TO YOU, TO BE WORTHY OF YOU, AND TO EXEMPLIFY WHAT YOU ARE. LET US CREATE TOGETHER A NEW NATIONAL SPIRIT OF UNITY AND TRUST. YOUR STRENGTH CAN COMPENSATE FOR MY WEAKNESS, AND YOUR WISDOM CAN HELP TO MINIMIZE MY MISTAKES.

LET US LEARN TOGETHER AND LAUGH TOGETHER AND WORK TOGETHER AND PRAY TOGETHER, CONFIDENT THAT IN THE END WE WILL TRIUMPH TOGETHER IN THE RIGHT.

THE AMERICAN DREAM ENDURES. WE MUST ONCE AGAIN HAVE FULL FAITH IN OUR COUNTRY -- AND IN ONE ANOTHER. I BELIEVE AMERICA CAN BE BETTER. WE CAN BE STRONGER THAN BEFORE.

FINAL COPY

PAGE FOUR

LET OUR RECENT MISTAKES BRING A RESURGENT COMMITMENT TO THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF OUR NATION, FOR WE KNOW THAT IF WE DESPISE OUR OWN GOVERNMENT WE HAVE NO FUTURE. WE RECALL IN SPECIAL TIMES WHEN WE HAVE STOOD BRIEFLY, BUT MAGNIFICENTLY, UNITED; IN THOSE TIMES NO PRIZE WAS BEYOND OUR GRASP.

BUT WE CANNOT DWELL UPON REMEMBERED GLORY. WE CANNOT AFFORD TO DRIFT. WE REJECT THE PROSPECT OF FAILURE OR MEDIOCRITY OR AN INFERIOR QUALITY OF LIFE FOR ANY PERSON.

OUR GOVERNMENT MUST AT THE SAME TIME BE BOTH COMPETENT AND COMPASSIONATE.

WE HAVE ALREADY FOUND A HIGH DEGREE OF PERSONAL LIBERTY, AND WE ARE NOW STRUGGLING TO ENHANCE EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY. OUR COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS MUST BE ABSOLUTE, OUR LAWS FAIR, OUR NATURAL BEAUTY PRESERVED; THE POWERFUL MUST NOT PERSECUTE THE WEAK, AND HUMAN DIGNITY MUST BE ENHANCED.

FINAL COPY

PAGE FIVE

WE HAVE LEARNED THAT "MORE" IS NOT NECESSARILY "BETTER", THAT EVEN OUR GREAT NATION HAS ITS RECOGNIZED LIMITS, AND THAT WE CAN NEITHER ANSWER ALL QUESTIONS NOR SOLVE ALL PROBLEMS. WE CANNOT AFFORD TO DO EVERYTHING, NOR CAN WE AFFORD TO LACK BOLDNESS AS WE MEET THE FUTURE. SO TOGETHER, IN A SPIRIT OF INDIVIDUAL SACRIFICE FOR THE COMMON GOOD, WE MUST SIMPLY DO OUR BEST.

OUR NATION CAN BE STRONG ABROAD ONLY IF IT IS STRONG AT HOME, AND WE KNOW THAT THE BEST WAY TO ENHANCE FREEDOM IN OTHER LANDS IS TO DEMONSTRATE HERE THAT OUR DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM IS WORTHY OF EMULATION.

TO BE TRUE TO OURSELVES, WE MUST BE TRUE TO OTHERS. WE WILL NOT BEHAVE IN FOREIGN PLACES SO AS TO VIOLATE OUR RULES AND STANDARDS HERE AT HOME, FOR WE KNOW THAT THE TRUST WHICH OUR NATION EARNS IS ESSENTIAL TO ITS STRENGTH.

FINAL COPY

PAGE SIX

THE WORLD ITSELF IS NOW DOMINATED BY A NEW SPIRIT. PEOPLES MORE NUMEROUS AND MORE POLITICALLY AWARE ARE CRAVING AND NOW DEMANDING THEIR PLACE IN THE SUN -- NOT JUST FOR THE BENEFIT OF THEIR OWN PHYSICAL CONDITION, BUT FOR BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS.

THE PASSION FOR FREEDOM IS ON THE RISE. TAPPING THIS NEW SPIRIT, THERE CAN BE NO NOBLER NOR MORE AMBITIOUS TASK FOR AMERICA TO UNDERTAKE ON THIS DAY OF A NEW BEGINNING THAN TO HELP SHAPE A JUST AND PEACEFUL WORLD THAT IS TRULY HUMANE.

WE ARE A STRONG NATION AND WE WILL MAINTAIN STRENGTH SO SUFFICIENT THAT IT NEED NOT BE PROVEN IN COMBAT -- A QUIET STRENGTH BASED NOT MERELY ON THE SIZE OF AN ARSENAL, BUT ON THE NOBILITY OF IDEAS.

WE WILL BE EVER VIGILANT AND NEVER VULNERABLE, AND WE WILL FIGHT OUR WARS AGAINST POVERTY, IGNORANCE AND INJUSTICE, FOR THOSE ARE THE ENEMIES AGAINST WHICH OUR FORCES CAN BE HONORABLY MARSHALLED.

FINAL COPY

PAGE SEVEN

WE ARE A PROUDLY IDEALISTIC NATION, BUT LET NO ONE
CONFUSE OUR IDEALISM WITH WEAKNESS.

BECAUSE WE ARE FREE WE CAN NEVER BE INDIFFERENT TO
THE FATE OF FREEDOM ELSEWHERE. OUR MORAL SENSE DICTATES
A CLEARCUT PREFERENCE FOR THOSE SOCIETIES WHICH SHARE
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WHICH OTHERS CAN DOMINATE WITH IMPUNITY WOULD BE INHOSPITABLE
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THE ELIMINATION OF ALL NUCLEAR WEAPONS FROM THIS EARTH.

WE URGE ALL OTHER PEOPLE TO JOIN US, FOR SUCCESS
CAN MEAN LIFE INSTEAD OF DEATH.

FINAL COPY

PAGE EIGHT

WITHIN US, THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, THERE IS EVIDENT A SERIOUS AND PURPOSEFUL REKINDLING OF CONFIDENCE, AND I JOIN IN THE HOPE THAT WHEN MY TIME AS YOUR PRESIDENT HAS ENDED, PEOPLE MIGHT SAY THIS ABOUT OUR NATION:

THAT WE HAD REMEMBERED THE WORDS OF MICAH AND RENEWED OUR SEARCH FOR HUMILITY, MERCY AND JUSTICE;

THAT WE HAD TORN DOWN THE BARRIERS THAT SEPARATED THOSE OF DIFFERENT RACE AND REGION AND RELIGION, AND WHERE THERE HAD BEEN MISTRUST, BUILT UNITY, WITH A RESPECT FOR DIVERSITY;

THAT WE HAD FOUND PRODUCTIVE WORK FOR THOSE ABLE TO PERFORM IT;

THAT WE HAD STRENGTHENED THE AMERICAN FAMILY, WHICH IS THE BASIS OF OUR SOCIETY;

FINAL COPY

PAGE NINE

THAT WE HAD ENSURED RESPECT FOR THE LAW, AND EQUAL
TREATMENT UNDER THE LAW, FOR THE WEAK AND THE POWERFUL,
THE RICH AND THE POOR;

AND THAT WE HAD ENABLED OUR PEOPLE TO BE PROUD OF
THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT ONCE AGAIN.

I WOULD HOPE THAT THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD MIGHT
SAY THAT WE HAD BUILT A LASTING PEACE, BASED NOT ON
WEAPONS OF WAR BUT ON INTERNATIONAL POLICIES WHICH
REFLECT OUR OWN MOST PRECIOUS VALUES.

THESE ARE NOT JUST MY GOALS, BUT OUR COMMON HOPES.
AND THEY WILL NOT BE MY ACCOMPLISHMENTS, BUT THE AFFIR-
MATION OF ^{our} NATION'S CONTINUING MORAL STRENGTH AND OUR
BELIEF IN AN UNDIMINISHED, EVER-EXPANDING AMERICAN DREAM.

INAUGURAL SPEECH

FINAL COPY

FOR MYSELF AND OUR NATION, I WANT TO THANK MY
PREDECESSOR FOR ALL HE HAS DONE TO HEAL OUR LAND.

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ONCE AGAIN TO THE INNER AND SPIRITUAL STRENGTH OF OUR
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OWN OATH OF OFFICE ON THE BIBLE MY MOTHER GAVE ME A FEW
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ANCIENT PROPHET MICAH:

FINAL COPY

PAGE TWO

"HE HATH SHOWED THEE, O MAN, WHAT IS GOOD; AND
WHAT DOTH THE LORD REQUIRE OF THEE, BUT TO DO JUSTLY,
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(MICAH 6:8)

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A NEW DEDICATION WITHIN OUR GOVERNMENT, AND A NEW SPIRIT
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STONE IN THE LONG QUEST FOR FREEDOM, BUT THE BOLD AND
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STILL AWAITS ITS FULL COMPLETION. I HAVE NO NEW DREAM
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THE OLD DREAM.

OURS WAS THE FIRST SOCIETY OPENLY TO DEFINE ITSELF
IN TERMS OF BOTH SPIRITUALITY AND OF HUMAN LIBERTY. IT
IS THAT UNIQUE SELF-DEFINITION WHICH HAS GIVEN US AN

FINAL COPY

PAGE THREE

EXCEPTIONAL APPEAL -- BUT IT ALSO IMPOSES ON US A SPECIAL OBLIGATION -- TO TAKE ON THOSE MORAL DUTIES WHICH, WHEN ASSUMED, SEEM INVARIABLY TO BE IN OUR OWN BEST INTERESTS.

YOU HAVE GIVEN ME A GREAT RESPONSIBILITY -- TO STAY CLOSE TO YOU, TO BE WORTHY OF YOU, AND TO EXEMPLIFY WHAT YOU ARE. LET US CREATE TOGETHER A NEW NATIONAL SPIRIT OF UNITY AND TRUST. YOUR STRENGTH CAN COMPENSATE FOR MY WEAKNESS, AND YOUR WISDOM CAN HELP TO MINIMIZE MY MISTAKES.

LET US LEARN TOGETHER AND LAUGH TOGETHER AND WORK TOGETHER AND PRAY TOGETHER, CONFIDENT THAT IN THE END WE WILL TRIUMPH TOGETHER IN THE RIGHT.

THE AMERICAN DREAM ENDURES. WE MUST ONCE AGAIN HAVE FULL FAITH IN OUR COUNTRY -- AND IN ONE ANOTHER. I BELIEVE AMERICA CAN BE BETTER. WE CAN BE STRONGER THAN BEFORE.

FINAL COPY

PAGE FOUR

LET OUR RECENT MISTAKES BRING A RESURGENT COMMITMENT TO THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF OUR NATION, FOR WE KNOW THAT IF WE DESPISE OUR OWN GOVERNMENT WE HAVE NO FUTURE. WE RECALL IN SPECIAL TIMES WHEN WE HAVE STOOD BRIEFLY, BUT MAGNIFICENTLY, UNITED; IN THOSE TIMES NO PRIZE WAS BEYOND OUR GRASP.

BUT WE CANNOT DWELL UPON REMEMBERED GLORY. WE CANNOT AFFORD TO DRIFT. WE REJECT THE PROSPECT OF FAILURE OR MEDIOCRITY OR AN INFERIOR QUALITY OF LIFE FOR ANY PERSON.

OUR GOVERNMENT MUST AT THE SAME TIME BE BOTH COMPETENT AND COMPASSIONATE.

WE HAVE ALREADY FOUND A HIGH DEGREE OF PERSONAL LIBERTY, AND WE ARE NOW STRUGGLING TO ENHANCE EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY. OUR COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS MUST BE ABSOLUTE, OUR LAWS FAIR, OUR NATURAL BEAUTY PRESERVED; THE POWERFUL MUST NOT PERSECUTE THE WEAK, AND HUMAN DIGNITY MUST BE ENHANCED.

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PAGE FIVE

WE HAVE LEARNED THAT "MORE" IS NOT NECESSARILY "BETTER", THAT EVEN OUR GREAT NATION HAS ITS RECOGNIZED LIMITS, AND THAT WE CAN NEITHER ANSWER ALL QUESTIONS NOR SOLVE ALL PROBLEMS. WE CANNOT AFFORD TO DO EVERYTHING, NOR CAN WE AFFORD TO LACK BOLDNESS AS WE MEET THE FUTURE. SO TOGETHER, IN A SPIRIT OF INDIVIDUAL SACRIFICE FOR THE COMMON GOOD, WE MUST SIMPLY DO OUR BEST.

OUR NATION CAN BE STRONG ABROAD ONLY IF IT IS STRONG AT HOME, AND WE KNOW THAT THE BEST WAY TO ENHANCE FREEDOM IN OTHER LANDS IS TO DEMONSTRATE HERE THAT OUR DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM IS WORTHY OF EMULATION.

TO BE TRUE TO OURSELVES, WE MUST BE TRUE TO OTHERS. WE WILL NOT BEHAVE IN FOREIGN PLACES SO AS TO VIOLATE OUR RULES AND STANDARDS HERE AT HOME, FOR WE KNOW THAT THE TRUST WHICH OUR NATION EARNS IS ESSENTIAL TO ITS STRENGTH.

FINAL COPY

PAGE SIX

THE WORLD ITSELF IS NOW DOMINATED BY A NEW SPIRIT. PEOPLES MORE NUMEROUS AND MORE POLITICALLY AWARE ARE CRAVING AND NOW DEMANDING THEIR PLACE IN THE SUN -- NOT JUST FOR THE BENEFIT OF THEIR OWN PHYSICAL CONDITION, BUT FOR BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS.

THE PASSION FOR FREEDOM IS ON THE RISE. TAPPING THIS NEW SPIRIT, THERE CAN BE NO NOBLER NOR MORE AMBITIOUS TASK FOR AMERICA TO UNDERTAKE ON THIS DAY OF A NEW BEGINNING THAN TO HELP SHAPE A JUST AND PEACEFUL WORLD THAT IS TRULY HUMANE.

WE ARE A STRONG NATION AND WE WILL MAINTAIN STRENGTH SO SUFFICIENT THAT IT NEED NOT BE PROVEN IN COMBAT -- A QUIET STRENGTH BASED NOT MERELY ON THE SIZE OF AN ARSENAL, BUT ON THE NOBILITY OF IDEAS.

WE WILL BE EVER VIGILANT AND NEVER VULNERABLE, AND WE WILL FIGHT OUR WARS AGAINST POVERTY, IGNORANCE AND INJUSTICE, FOR THOSE ARE THE ENEMIES AGAINST WHICH OUR FORCES CAN BE HONORABLY MARSHALLED.

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PAGE SEVEN

WE ARE A PROUDLY IDEALISTIC NATION, BUT LET NO ONE
CONFUSE OUR IDEALISM WITH WEAKNESS.

BECAUSE WE ARE FREE WE CAN NEVER BE INDIFFERENT TO
THE FATE OF FREEDOM ELSEWHERE. OUR MORAL SENSE DICTATES
A CLEARCUT PREFERENCE FOR THOSE SOCIETIES WHICH SHARE
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WE DO NOT SEEK TO INTIMIDATE, BUT IT IS CLEAR THAT A WORLD
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WITHIN US, THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, THERE IS EVIDENT A SERIOUS AND PURPOSEFUL REKINDLING OF CONFIDENCE, AND I JOIN IN THE HOPE THAT WHEN MY TIME AS YOUR PRESIDENT HAS ENDED, PEOPLE MIGHT SAY THIS ABOUT OUR NATION:

THAT WE HAD REMEMBERED THE WORDS OF MICAH AND RENEWED OUR SEARCH FOR HUMILITY, MERCY AND JUSTICE;

THAT WE HAD TORN DOWN THE BARRIERS THAT SEPARATED THOSE OF DIFFERENT RACE AND REGION AND RELIGION, AND WHERE THERE HAD BEEN MISTRUST, BUILT UNITY, WITH A RESPECT FOR DIVERSITY;

THAT WE HAD FOUND PRODUCTIVE WORK FOR THOSE ABLE TO PERFORM IT;

THAT WE HAD STRENGTHENED THE AMERICAN FAMILY, WHICH IS THE BASIS OF OUR SOCIETY;

FINAL COPY

PAGE NINE

THAT WE HAD ENSURED RESPECT FOR THE LAW, AND EQUAL
TREATMENT UNDER THE LAW, FOR THE WEAK AND THE POWERFUL,
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AND THAT WE HAD ENABLED OUR PEOPLE TO BE PROUD OF
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THESE ARE NOT JUST MY GOALS, BUT OUR COMMON HOPES.
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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

PRESIDENT'S READING COPY

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

FOR MYSELF AND OUR NATION, I WANT
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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

This will acknowledge receipt of the original manuscript of President Carter's Inaugural Address for use in an inaugural exhibit at the Johnson Library July 1 - September 30, 1977.

Upon closing of the exhibit, this manuscript should be returned to Rick Hutcheson, Staff Secretary at the White House.

Amy Shadwin
Date: July 1 - 1977

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

PRESIDENT'S READING COPY

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*Original loaned
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ASSUMED, SEEM INVARIABLY TO BE IN
OUR OWN BEST INTERESTS.

YOU HAVE GIVEN ME A GREAT RESPON-
SIBILITY -- TO STAY CLOSE TO YOU, TO
BE WORTHY OF YOU, AND TO EXEMPLIFY
WHAT YOU ARE. LET US CREATE TOGETHER
A NEW NATIONAL SPIRIT OF UNITY AND
TRUST. YOUR STRENGTH CAN COMPENSATE
FOR MY WEAKNESS, AND YOUR WISDOM CAN
HELP TO MINIMIZE MY MISTAKES.

LET US LEARN TOGETHER AND LAUGH
TOGETHER AND WORK TOGETHER AND PRAY,

TOGETHER, CONFIDENT THAT IN THE END
WE WILL TRIUMPH TOGETHER IN THE RIGHT.

THE AMERICAN DREAM ENDURES. WE
MUST ONCE AGAIN HAVE FULL FAITH IN
OUR COUNTRY -- AND IN ONE ANOTHER.
I BELIEVE AMERICA CAN BE BETTER. WE
CAN BE STRONGER THAN BEFORE.

LET OUR RECENT MISTAKES BRING A
RESURGENT COMMITMENT TO THE BASIC
PRINCIPLES OF OUR NATION, FOR WE KNOW
THAT IF WE DESPISE OUR OWN GOVERNMENT
WE HAVE NO FUTURE. WE RECALL IN
SPECIAL TIMES WHEN WE HAVE STOOD
BRIEFLY, BUT MAGNIFICENTLY, UNITED;
IN THOSE TIMES NO PRIZE WAS BEYOND
OUR GRASP.

BUT WE CANNOT DWELL UPON REMEMBERED
GLORY. WE CANNOT AFFORD TO DRIFT. WE
REJECT THE PROSPECT OF FAILURE OR
MEDIOCRITY OR AN INFERIOR QUALITY OF
LIFE FOR ANY PERSON.

OUR GOVERNMENT MUST AT THE SAME
TIME BE BOTH COMPETENT AND COMPASSIONATE.

WE HAVE ALREADY FOUND A HIGH DEGREE
OF PERSONAL LIBERTY, AND WE ARE NOW
STRUGGLING TO ENHANCE EQUALITY OF
OPPORTUNITY. OUR COMMITMENT TO HUMAN
RIGHTS MUST BE ABSOLUTE, OUR LAWS FAIR,
OUR NATURAL BEAUTY PRESERVED; THE
POWERFUL MUST NOT PERSECUTE THE WEAK,
AND HUMAN DIGNITY MUST BE ENHANCED.

WE HAVE LEARNED THAT "MORE" IS NOT NECESSARILY "BETTER", THAT EVEN OUR GREAT NATION HAS ITS RECOGNIZED LIMITS, AND THAT WE CAN NEITHER ANSWER ALL QUESTIONS NOR SOLVE ALL PROBLEMS. WE CANNOT AFFORD TO DO EVERYTHING, NOR CAN WE AFFORD TO LACK BOLDNESS AS WE MEET THE FUTURE. SO TOGETHER, IN A SPIRIT OF INDIVIDUAL SACRIFICE FOR THE COMMON GOOD, WE MUST SIMPLY DO OUR BEST.

OUR NATION CAN BE STRONG ABROAD ONLY IF IT IS STRONG AT HOME, AND WE KNOW THAT THE BEST WAY TO ENHANCE FREEDOM IN OTHER LANDS IS TO DEMONSTRATE HERE THAT OUR DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM IS WORTHY OF EMULATION.

TO BE TRUE TO OURSELVES, WE MUST
BE TRUE TO OTHERS. WE WILL NOT BEHAVE
IN FOREIGN PLACES SO AS TO VIOLATE OUR
RULES AND STANDARDS HERE AT HOME, FOR
WE KNOW THAT THE TRUST WHICH OUR NATION
EARNS IS ESSENTIAL TO ITS STRENGTH.

THE WORLD ITSELF IS NOW DOMINATED
BY A NEW SPIRIT. PEOPLES MORE NUMEROUS
AND MORE POLITICALLY AWARE ARE CRAVING
AND NOW DEMANDING THEIR PLACE IN THE
SUN -- NOT JUST FOR THE BENEFIT OF
THEIR OWN PHYSICAL CONDITION, BUT
FOR BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS.

THE PASSION FOR FREEDOM IS ON THE
RISE. TAPPING THIS NEW SPIRIT, THERE

CAN BE NO NOBLER NOR MORE AMBITIOUS
TASK FOR AMERICA TO UNDERTAKE ON THIS
DAY OF A NEW BEGINNING THAN TO HELP
SHAPE A JUST AND PEACEFUL WORLD THAT
IS TRULY HUMANE.

WE ARE A STRONG NATION AND WE WILL
MAINTAIN STRENGTH SO SUFFICIENT THAT
IT NEED NOT BE PROVEN IN COMBAT -- A
QUIET STRENGTH BASED NOT MERELY ON
THE SIZE OF AN ARSENAL, BUT ON THE
NOBILITY OF IDEAS.

WE WILL BE EVER VIGILANT AND
NEVER VULNERABLE, AND WE WILL FIGHT
OUR WARS AGAINST POVERTY, IGNORANCE
AND INJUSTICE, FOR THOSE ARE THE

ENEMIES AGAINST
WHICH

ENEMIES AGAINST WHICH OUR FORCES CAN
BE HONORABLY MARSHALLED.

WE ARE A PROUDLY IDEALISTIC NATION,
BUT LET NO ONE CONFUSE OUR IDEALISM
WITH WEAKNESS.

BECAUSE WE ARE FREE WE CAN NEVER
BE INDIFFERENT TO THE FATE OF FREEDOM
ELSEWHERE. OUR MORAL SENSE DICTATES
A CLEARCUT PREFERENCE FOR THOSE
SOCIETIES WHICH SHARE WITH US AN
ABIDING RESPECT FOR INDIVIDUAL HUMAN
RIGHTS. WE DO NOT SEEK TO INTIMIDATE,
BUT IT IS CLEAR THAT A WORLD WHICH
OTHERS CAN DOMINATE WITH IMPUNITY WOULD
BE INHOSPITABLE TO DECENCY AND A THREAT
TO THE WELL-BEING OF ALL PEOPLE.

THE WORLD IS STILL ENGAGED IN A
MASSIVE ARMAMENTS RACE DESIGNED TO
INSURE CONTINUING EQUIVALENT STRENGTH
AMONG POTENTIAL ADVERSARIES. WE
PLEDGE PERSEVERANCE AND WISDOM IN OUR
EFFORTS TO LIMIT THE WORLD'S ARMAMENTS
TO THOSE NECESSARY FOR EACH NATION'S
OWN DOMESTIC SAFETY. WE WILL MOVE THIS
YEAR A STEP TOWARD OUR ULTIMATE GOAL --
THE ELIMINATION OF ALL NUCLEAR WEAPONS
FROM THIS EARTH.

WE URGE ALL OTHER PEOPLE TO JOIN
US, FOR SUCCESS CAN MEAN LIFE INSTEAD
OF DEATH.

WITHIN US, THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED
STATES, THERE IS EVIDENT A SERIOUS AND

PURPOSEFUL REKINDLING

TWELVE

PURPOSEFUL REKINDLING OF CONFIDENCE,
AND I JOIN IN THE HOPE THAT WHEN MY
TIME AS YOUR PRESIDENT HAS ENDED,
PEOPLE MIGHT SAY THIS ABOUT OUR NATION:

THAT WE HAD REMEMBERED THE WORDS
OF MICAH AND RENEWED OUR SEARCH FOR
HUMILITY, MERCY AND JUSTICE;

THAT WE HAD TORN DOWN THE BARRIERS
THAT SEPARATED THOSE OF DIFFERENT RACE
AND REGION AND RELIGION, AND WHERE
THERE HAD BEEN MISTRUST, BUILT UNITY,
WITH A RESPECT FOR DIVERSITY;

THAT WE HAD FOUND PRODUCTIVE WORK
FOR THOSE ABLE TO PERFORM IT;

THAT WE HAD STRENGTHENED THE
AMERICAN FAMILY, WHICH IS THE BASIS
OF OUR SOCIETY;

THAT WE HAD ENSURED RESPECT FOR
THE LAW, AND EQUAL TREATMENT UNDER
THE LAW, FOR THE WEAK AND THE POWER-
FUL, THE RICH AND THE POOR;

AND THAT WE HAD ENABLED OUR PEOPLE
TO BE PROUD OF THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT
ONCE AGAIN.

I WOULD HOPE THAT THE NATIONS OF
THE WORLD MIGHT SAY THAT WE HAD BUILT
A LASTING PEACE, BASED NOT ON WEAPONS
OF WAR BUT ON INTERNATIONAL POLICIES

WHICH REFLECT

FOURTEEN

WHICH REFLECT OUR OWN MOST PRECIOUS
VALUES.

THESE ARE NOT JUST MY GOALS, BUT
OUR COMMON HOPES. AND THEY WILL NOT
BE MY ACCOMPLISHMENTS, BUT THE AFFIR-
MATION OF OUR NATION'S CONTINUING MORAL
STRENGTH AND OUR BELIEF IN AN UNDIM-
INISHED, EVER-EXPANDING AMERICAN DREAM.

INAUGURAL SPEECH
FOURTH DRAFT

Gov.

This draft contains
combined editorial suggestions
from Rex and me.

JEP

FOR MYSELF AND OUR NATION, I WANT TO THANK MY PREDECESSOR
FOR ALL HE HAS DONE TO HEAL OUR LAND.

^{this}
IN ~~THE RITUAL WE OBSERVE TODAY, ONCE AGAIN WITH AN~~ OUTWARD
AND PHYSICAL CEREMONY WE ATTEST ^{once again} TO THE INNER AND SPIRITUAL STRENGTH
OF OUR NATION. [AS ALWAYS, THIS PASSAGE MARKS THE CONTINUITY OF
PAST PROMISES AND THE HOPE FOR NEW BEGINNINGS.]

HERE BEFORE ME IS THE BIBLE USED IN THE INAUGURATION OF OUR
FIRST PRESIDENT IN 1789, ~~AND~~ I HAVE JUST TAKEN MY OWN OATH OF
OFFICE ON THE BIBLE MY MOTHER GAVE ME ^{a few} ~~MANY~~ YEARS AGO, OPENED TO
A TIMELESS ADMONITION FROM THE ANCIENT PROPHET MICAH:

"HE HATH SHOWED THEE, O MAN, WHAT IS GOOD; AND WHAT DOTTH
THE LORD REQUIRE OF THEE, BUT TO DO JUSTLY, AND TO LOVE MERCY,
AND TO WALK HUMBLY WITH THY GOD." (MICAH 6:8)

As my high school teacher, ^{Miss Julia Coleman} used to say, "We
must adjust to changing times and still hold
to unchanging principles."

Even as th
this, the hymn
is not as strong
as I'd like.

THIS INAUGURATION CEREMONY MARKS A NEW BEGINNING, A NEW
DEDICATION WITHIN OUR GOVERNMENT, AND A NEW SPIRIT AMONG ^{us all.} OUR
PEOPLE. A PRESIDENT MAY SENSE AND PROCLAIM ^[THAT.] A NEW SPIRIT,
BUT ONLY A PEOPLE CAN PROVIDE IT.

Seems to read
better this way.

TWO CENTURIES AGO OUR NATION'S BIRTH WAS A MILESTONE IN
THE LONG QUEST FOR FREEDOM, BUT THE BOLD AND BRILLIANT DREAM
WHICH ENTRANCED THE FOUNDERS OF OUR NATION STILL AWAITS ITS
full completion. ^{excited} [CONSUMMATION.] I HAVE NO NEW DREAM TO ^{set forth (Today)} ~~RELATE~~ BUT RATHER URGE
A FRESH FAITH IN THE OLD DREAM.

Reads ~~smoothly~~ more
smoothly up this in to me

OURS WAS THE FIRST SOCIETY OPENLY TO DEFINE ITSELF IN
TERMS OF BOTH SPIRITUALITY AND ^[OF] HUMAN LIBERTY. IT IS THAT
UNIQUE SELF-DEFINITION WHICH HAS GIVEN US ^{an exceptional} [A TRANSCENDENT]
APPEAL -- BUT IT ALSO IMPOSES ON US A SPECIAL OBLIGATION -- ^{to assume take on} [THAT
OBLIGATION LIES IN THE ASSUMPTION OF] THOSE MORAL DUTIES WHICH
WHEN ASSUMED []] SEEM INVARIABLY TO BE IN OUR OWN BEST INTERESTS.

FOURTH DRAFT
PAGE THREE

YOU HAVE GIVEN ME A GREAT RESPONSIBILITY -- TO STAY CLOSE
TO YOU, TO BE WORTHY OF YOU, AND TO EXEMPLIFY WHAT YOU ARE. LET
US CREATE TOGETHER A NEW NATIONAL SPIRIT OF UNITY AND TRUST. YOUR
STRENGTH CAN COMPENSATE FOR MY WEAKNESS, AND YOUR WISDOM CAN HELP
TO MINIMIZE MY MISTAKES.

LET US LEARN TOGETHER AND LAUGH TOGETHER AND WORK TOGETHER
AND PRAY TOGETHER, CONFIDENT THAT IN THE END WE WILL TRIUMPH
TOGETHER IN THE RIGHT.

[~~OUR NATION'S BEST IS STILL AHEAD.~~]

THE AMERICAN DREAM ENDURES. *We must once again have faith
in our country - and in one another. I believe America
can do better. We can be stronger than before.*

LET OUR RECENT MISTAKES BRING A RESURGENT COMMITMENT TO THE
BASIC PRINCIPLES OF OUR ~~COUNTRY~~ [NATION], FOR WE KNOW THAT IF WE DESPISE
OUR OWN GOVERNMENT WE HAVE NO FUTURE. →

(OUR NATION HAS)
WE RECALL IN SPECIAL TIMES WHEN [WE HAVE] STOOD BRIEFLY, BUT
MAGNIFICENTLY, UNITED; IN THOSE TIMES NO PRIZE WAS BEYOND OUR
GRASP. ^{IT} BUT WE CANNOT DWELL UPON REMEMBERED GLORY. WE CANNOT

AFFORD TO DRIFT. WE REJECT THE PROSPECT OF FAILURE OR MEDIOCRITY
OR AN INFERIOR QUALITY OF LIFE FOR ANY PERSON.

OUR GOVERNMENT MUST AT THE SAME TIME BE ^{both} COMPETENT AND
COMPASSIONATE. ^{IF} OUR NATION CAN BE STRONG ABROAD ONLY IF IT
IS STRONG AT HOME, ^{and} [AND] WE KNOW THAT THE BEST WAY TO ENHANCE
FREEDOM FOR OTHERS IS TO DEMONSTRATE ^(HERE) THAT OUR DEMOCRATIC
SYSTEM IS WORTHY OF EMULATION.

WE HAVE ALREADY FOUND A HIGH DEGREE OF PERSONAL LIBERTY, ^{and}
[AND] WE ARE NOW STRUGGLING TO ENHANCE EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY.
OUR COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS MUST BE ABSOLUTE, OUR LAWS
FAIR, OUR ^{NATURAL} ~~WORLD'S~~ BEAUTY PRESERVED; THE POWERFUL MUST NOT
PERSECUTE THE WEAK, AND HUMAN DIGNITY MUST BE ENHANCED.

WE HAVE LEARNED THAT "MORE" IS NOT NECESSARILY "BETTER", THAT
EVEN OUR GREAT NATION HAS ITS RECOGNIZED LIMITS, AND THAT WE CAN
NEITHER ANSWER ALL QUESTIONS NOR SOLVE ALL PROBLEMS.

lack boldness as we meet the future.
We cannot afford to do everything, nor can we afford to do nothing. So together, in a spirit of mutual sacrifice for the common good, we must simply do our best.

TO BE TRUE TO OURSELVES, WE MUST BE TRUE TO OTHERS. WE WILL
NOT BEHAVE ^{in foreign lands so as to} ~~ABROAD IN A WAY WHICH WOULD~~ VIOLATE OUR RULES AND STANDARDS
HERE AT HOME, FOR WE KNOW THAT THE TRUST WHICH OUR NATION EARNS

IS ESSENTIAL TO ITS STRENGTH.

THE WORLD ITSELF IS NOW DOMINATED BY A NEW SPIRIT, ~~[BY]~~
PEOPLES MORE NUMEROUS AND MORE POLITICALLY AWARE, ^(ARE) CRAVING AND
NOW DEMANDING THEIR PLACE IN THE SUN -- NOT JUST FOR THE
BENEFIT OF THEIR OWN PHYSICAL CONDITION, BUT FOR BASIC HUMAN
RIGHTS.

THE PASSION FOR FREEDOM ~~[IN THE WORLD]~~ IS ON THE RISE.

TAPPING THIS NEW SPIRIT, THERE CAN BE NO ~~MORE NOBLE~~ ^{more} ~~FOR~~ ^{now}
AMBITIOUS TASK FOR AMERICA TO UNDERTAKE ON THIS DAY OF A
NEW BEGINNING THAN TO HELP SHAPE A JUST AND PEACEFUL WORLD
THAT IS TRULY HUMANE.

WE ARE A STRONG NATION AND WE WILL MAINTAIN ^[A] STRENGTH
SO SUFFICIENT THAT IT NEED NOT BE PROVEN IN COMBAT -- A QUIET
STRENGTH BASED NOT MERELY ON THE SIZE OF AN ARSENAL, BUT ON
THE NOBILITY OF ~~OUR~~ IDEAS.

WE WILL BE EVER VIGILANT AND NEVER VULNERABLE, ~~FIGHTING~~
OUR WARS AGAINST POVERTY, IGNORANCE AND INJUSTICE, FOR THOSE
ARE THE ENEMIES AGAINST WHICH OUR FORCES CAN BE ^{honorably} ~~NOBLY~~ MARSHALLED.

THIS sentence doesn't
quite fit where it
was. I think
moving it up makes
the whole thing flow
more smoothly.

and we will

WE ARE A PROUDLY IDEALISTIC NATION, BUT LET NO ONE
CONFUSE OUR IDEALISM WITH WEAKNESS. BECAUSE WE ARE FREE
WE CAN NEVER BE INDIFFERENT TO THE FATE OF FREEDOM ELSEWHERE.
^(MORAL)
OUR ~~SENSE~~ ^[OF MORALITY] DICTATES A CLEARCUT PREFERENCE FOR THOSE
SOCIETIES WHICH SHARE WITH US AN ABIDING RESPECT FOR INDIVIDUAL
HUMAN RIGHTS.

WE DO NOT SEEK TO INTIMIDATE, BUT IT IS CLEAR THAT A
WORLD WHICH OTHERS CAN DOMINATE WITH IMPUNITY WOULD BE
INHOSPITABLE TO DECENCY AND ^{a threat} ~~[CONTRARY]~~ TO THE WELL-BEING OF
ALL PEOPLE.

Threat

FOURTH DRAFT
PAGE SEVEN

THE WORLD IS STILL ENGAGED IN A MASSIVE ARMAMENTS RACE *Supposedly* *allegedly* *claimed*
DESIGNED TO INSURE CONTINUING EQUIVALENT STRENGTH AMONG
POTENTIAL ADVERSARIES. WE PLEDGE PERSEVERANCE AND WISDOM
IN OUR EFFORTS TO LIMIT THE WORLD'S ARMAMENTS, ⁺ ~~TO~~ TO THOSE NECESSARY
FOR EACH NATION'S OWN DOMESTIC SAFETY. ~~]~~ WE WILL MOVE THIS YEAR
A STEP TOWARD OUR ULTIMATE GOAL -- THE ELIMINATION OF ALL NUCLEAR
WEAPONS FROM THIS EARTH.

WE URGE ALL OTHER PEOPLE TO JOIN US, FOR SUCCESS CAN
MEAN LIFE INSTEAD OF DEATH.

(Need good pause here for applause and to signal a transition.)

WITHIN US, THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, ~~]~~ THERE IS EVIDENT
^{serious}
A [SOMBER] AND PURPOSEFUL REKINDLING OF ~~HOPE~~ confidence, and

and join in the expectation

I ~~(WOULD)~~ HOPE THAT WHEN MY TIME AS YOUR PRESIDENT HAS ENDED,
~~to say~~
PEOPLE ~~(MIGHT)~~ SAY THIS ABOUT OUR NATION:

THAT WE HAD REMEMBERED THE WORDS OF AMAN AND RENEWED OUR
SEARCH FOR HUMILITY, MERCY AND JUSTICE;

THAT WE ~~(HAD)~~ TORE DOWN THE BARRIERS THAT SEPARATED THOSE OF
DIFFERENT RACE AND REGION ~~(AND SEX)~~ AND RELIGION, AND WHERE THERE
HAD BEEN MISTRUST, BUILT UNITY, WITH A RESPECT FOR DIVERSITY;

THAT WE ~~(HAD)~~ FOUND PRODUCTIVE WORK FOR ALL ~~(THOSE)~~ ~~(OUR PEOPLE)~~ ABLE
TO PERFORM IT;

*This doesn't
work, the mental
picture is unisex
public for let's*

*we had to preserve
the word "people"*

THAT WE ~~(HAD)~~ STRENGTHENED THE AMERICAN FAMILY, ~~(WHICH IS)~~ THE
BASIS OF OUR SOCIETY;

THAT WE ~~(HAD)~~ ENSURED RESPECT FOR THE LAW, AND EQUAL TREATMENT
UNDER THE LAW, FOR THE WEAK AND THE POWERFUL; THE RICH AND THE POOR;

AND THAT WE ~~(HAD)~~ ENABLED OUR PEOPLE TO BE PROUD OF THEIR
OWN GOVERNMENT ONCE AGAIN.

*Needed to preserve
the cadence*

I WOULD HOPE THAT THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD ~~(WILL)~~ ~~(MIGHT)~~ SAY THAT
WE ~~(HAD)~~ BUILT A LASTING PEACE, BASED NOT ON WEAPONS OF WAR BUT ON

FOURTH DRAFT
PAGE NINE

INTERNATIONAL POLICIES WHICH REFLECT OUR ^{not ours, most precious values} [DEEPEST MORAL VALUES.]

THESE ARE NOT JUST MY GOALS, BUT OUR COMMON HOPES. AND
THEY WILL NOT BE MY ACCOMPLISHMENTS, BUT THE AFFIRMATION OF
OUR NATION'S CONTINUING MORAL STRENGTH. ^{and} /OUR BELIEF IN AN
UNDIMINISHED, EVER-EXPANDING AMERICAN DREAM.

IT IS TIME TO REMEMBER THE ANCIENT PROPHET, AND TO RENEW
OUR SEARCH FOR HUMILITY, MERCY AND JUSTICE.

Our nation's birth exemplified the
human search ^{for spirituality and} ~~of the human spirit~~ for freedom.

As we begin our Third century it is

well to consider what we are and

what we ought to be. We have been

able to combine provided both governmental

continuity and a framework for ^{constant and dramatic} political

change. We have guaranteed a high degree of

personal liberty and we are ^{now} struggling for ^{to assure} equality?

opportunity. ^{Fortunately, the} ~~Some~~ mistakes, doubt and

distrust of our own government are

forcing more openness and candor. We

are still militarily secure, ~~but~~ ^{and} engaged

in a massive armaments race to assure

^{continued} equivalent strength with our potential

adversaries. We still waste enormous

portions of our limited natural resources.

In spite of mistaken international adventures,

we still find it difficult to

enforced
enormous
enhanced

We are a spiritual nation, but we are threatened by moral decay.

We have come through ^{many} times of testing and trial, of disappointment and concern. Even our own government has its ^{recognized} limits and cannot solve all problems, but the American dream persists. We reject the prospect of failure or mediocrity or of an inferior quality of life. Ours is ^{progress, of} still a tradition of leadership and ^{and} compassion ^{and} competence. "There is a fear that our best years are behind us, but our nation's best is still ahead."

We can depend on our quiet strength, based "not merely on the size of an arsenal but on the nobility of ideas" Our greatness lies in our ~~moral purpose~~ assumption of our moral duties, which will invariably be in our own best interests.

^{inauguration}
This ceremony marks a new
beginning, a new spirit among our people,
a new dedication within our (govern-
ment.) No one person, nor even an
entire government can nurture
and enhance this spirit. But it
is the genius of our democratic society
that those elected to public office
to embody the aspirations and strengths
of millions of our people. This is how
strengths are multiplied and success
made possible.

Now is a time for a President
can announce a new spirit; only a
people can provide it. It must begin
~~within~~ⁱⁿ each individual, with a realization
of the existence of hunger, injustice, pollution,
the threat of war and the oppression of
involuntary servitude. Our commitment to

human rights must be absolute. Our
laws must be fair, our nation's beauty
must be preserved, the powerful must
not persecute the weak, human dignity
must be assured.

We have no fear of peaceful com-
petition. Our achievements at home are
our best assurance of success abroad.

We will never
withhold any
begudge any
price paid
for our safety
and security,
but we must
never waste
our resources
and call it
(name it)
national security.

Ours is a strong nation, and it will remain
strong. Our nation's existence justifies any
sacrifice, but our strength need not ^{be} proven ~~half~~ in combat.

To all the world we pledge
patience, restraint and wisdom in our
unending search for peace, with

The trust which
our nation
earns is
essential
(vital)
to its
strength

our ultimate goal the elimination of
nuclear weapons from this earth, ^{the world's} armaments

throughout the world should be limited

to those necessary for each nation's own
Success can mean life instead of death.

domestic safety. We urge other peoples
to join us in a concerted and

aggressive effort to realize these goals.

We will not behave in another country in a way which would violate our rules and standards here at home.

→ We will fight our wars against poverty, ignorance, hunger and injustice for those are the constant enemies which truly threaten our vital interests.

The years ahead will not be easy ones, but we have in the past faced many difficulties and perils... because we are a people who know that high purpose and hard work ~~is~~ can make the noblest dreams come true. If adversity is our inspiration, surely greatness can be our reward.

~~Yet~~

We will seek lasting agreement in those areas of the world where the present balance is fragile and where peace seems a temporary state.

You have given me a great responsibility -- to exemplify what ~~you~~ you are. The strength of our people can compensate for my weakness, and your wisdom can minimize ~~for~~ my mistakes. Let us create together a new national spirit of unity and trust. Let us strive together. Let us learn, and laugh and work and pray together, and, if need be, suffer ^{and sacrifice} together, confident that in the end we will triumph together in the right.

Our goal is both simple and majestic -- to have an American Government so good and decent and strong and competent and so filled with compassion and love as are the American people.

We must ^{strip away secrecy, and} move through universal
suffrage to make our people and our
government one.

We cannot afford to drift.

It is time to end discrimination,
to protect the quality of our life, ^{to eliminate waste,} to
control crime, to put our people to
work, ^{to strengthen our families,} to insure fair taxation, to protect
personal privacy, to ^{set and achieve} ~~seek~~ ^{worthy} goals in
agriculture, health care, education, and in
the supply of energy.

America's birth was a watershed
in the quest for human freedom. Ours
was the first society consciously to
define itself both in terms of ~~the~~
liberty and of the spiritual. It is
that uniqueness which has given us
a transcendental appeal - but it also
imposes on us a special moral obligation.
To be true to ourselves we must be true
to others. Our world is now dominated
by a new spirit, by peoples more
numerous and ^{more politically} ~~more~~ aware, craving and
now demanding their place in the Sun - not
just for the betterment of the human condition but
fundamental respect for human rights. ^{Freedom is on the rise.}
Tapping this spirit, we must help to shape
a world that is truly humane. There
can be no nobler nor more ambitious
task for America 200 years after its
birth - and to that effort we pledge our
country's foreign policy.

We cannot dominate other nations
nor be rigidly moralistic but ~~use~~ our
sense of morality dictates a clearcut
preference for those societies which
share with us an abiding respect
for individual rights and freedoms
Because we are free, we cannot be
indifferent to the fate of freedom
elsewhere. We will help to build a just ^{and peaceful} world
order. We must beware of illusions. For
a long time to come we must combine
peaceful competition with increasing
efforts to accommodate ^{with some other nations} our existing
differences. In that setting, American
power will remain a constant and
credible factor of stability. ~~On~~ Everyone
must know that ^(adequate) American power - with to
defend our interests, to preserve our ideals,
and to safeguard our friends - will be

maintained and used if required. We seek not to intimidate, but a world in which others can dominate with impunity would be inhospitable to decency and contrary to the wellbeing of all people.

We have now learned that an nation can be strong abroad only if it is strong at home [- in our leadership, in our economy, and in our commitment to the basic values of our people.] The best thing we can do for the world economy is to ~~have~~ build a healthy economy at home; foreign trade and jobs for our workers are mutually supportive; ^{and} concern for hungry people in other nations must be matched by concern for the disadvantages in our own land.

(added)

1. Return to basic values
2. America & its limitations
3. Purposeful, somber rekindling of hope
4. The American dream is not dated
5. America is not a place but an idea
6. The people are strong
7. Goal of excellence - "Why Not the Best"
8. Moral & just government
9. The future can be good
10. New tolerance of diversity
11. If we hate our govt - no future
12. Limits to growth
13. Admit complexity of problems
14. Quality vs quantity of life

Although we have made some serious
our recent serious mistakes can bring a
mistake, this must bring us to a
recommitment to ^{the} basic values of our
nation. If we hate our own government
we have no future. We must assess
our faults, ^{tolerate diversity,} recognize our limitations, and
yet remember that The American dream
is not written dated nor diminished. America
is not just a place, but an idea. We, the
people are strong, and within us there is

evident

a sober, purposeful, unyielding

rekindling of hope. There is within us

a new tolerance for diversity, an acknowl-

edgment of the complexity of problems

and the limitations on growth [and on

government], and a conviction that with

if we can maintain

a moral and just government our future

will be better than the past.

- 1- Birth - liberty / spiritual
- 2- Unique - appeal - obligation
- 3- Moral duties - best interests
- 4- 3rd cent - consider - Δ
- 5- Liberty \rightarrow equality
- 6- Mistakes \rightarrow candor
- 7- Strong, arms race
- 8- Quiet strength - arsenal / ideas
- 9- True ourselves / others - new spirit, other people
- 10- Human rights - freedom \uparrow
- 11- Peace - humane world
- 12- Trial - limit - dream lives
- 13- Reject failure - best ahead
- 14- Inauguration - new spirit, dedication
- 15- Officials exemplify people
- 16- People must provide
- 17- Possibilities to improve
- 18- US leadership - peaceful competition
- 19- Trust essential to strength
- 20- Pledge wisdom - disarmament
- 21- Other people join
- 22- Foreign agreements - same standards
- 23- Fight wars - poverty, injustice
- 24- Future not easy - hi purpose, hard work
- 25- Inspired by adversity, greater reward
- 26- The responsibility, weakness, mistakes
- 27- Strive, work, laugh, pray together
- 28- Govt, good, etc as people
- 29- Secrecy, universal suffrage
- 30- No drift - issues
- 31- (Same con't)
- 32- Prefer those who share ideals
- 33- World order - competition / accommodation
- 34- American power - constant
- 35- Not intimidate - but --
- 36- Strong abroad - at home
- 37- Mistakes \rightarrow basic values
- 38- Assess faults - place vs. den
- 39- Hope rekindled - better future
- 2 40 - 2 Chron 7:14
- ① 41 - Just taken oath

We can no longer force our will on others - nor do we need to do so. We should no longer be the arms merchant of the world, nor condone murder, assassination nor subversion of other governments. We must discourage the proliferation of nuclear weapon capability among nations, and set an example in reducing this threat to human existence.

We cannot condone international crime, either terrorism or bribery.

Our nation's existence justifies any sacrifice.

"To adjust to changing times yet hold on to unchanging principles"

ALSTON, MILLER & GAINES

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First Class Mail

Maxie
Inaugural speech
notes for archives
J.C.

Mr. Jimmy Carter

(For delivery by
Mr. Kinbo)

Let us create together a
new national spirit of unity and
trust. Let us strive together.
Let us learn and laugh and work
and pray together, confident that
in the end we will triumph
together in the right.

27

Two centuries ago our nation's birth
(~~seemed to be the~~ ^{appeared to be the} fulfillment of ~~(congratulation)~~ ^(congratulation))
was a watershed ⁽ⁱⁿ⁾ the quest
for (human) freedom. Ours was the
first society ^{openly} ~~consciously~~ to define
itself in terms of liberty and of
(the spiritual) human liberty.

1

It is that uniqueness which has
given us a transcendent ~~appeal~~ appeal -
but it also imposes on us a special
moral obligation.

2

We have learned that our greatness
lies in the assumption of ^{these} ~~our~~ moral
duties, which seem invariably to
be in our own best interests.

3

As we begin our third century
it is well to consider what we
~~are~~ ^{have been} and what we ought to be.

We have provided both governmental
continuity and a framework for
constant and dramatic political change.

4.

We have been able to ^{achieve} ~~(guarantee)~~ a
high degree of personal liberty and
we are now struggling to ^{enhance} ~~assure~~
equality of opportunity.

5

agriculture, health care, education
and in the supply of energy.

31

Fortunately, our recent mistakes and
the resulting doubt and distrust of
(our own government) have forced us
→ to search for more openness and
candor.

6-

We must strip away secrecy,
and move through universal suf-
frage to make our people and
our government one.

29

~~We detect a possibility~~ that we
can help to reduce hunger, injustice,
pollution, the threat of war, and the
oppression of involuntary servitude. We
see that our commitment to human
rights must be absolute, and that
our laws might be fair, our nation's
beauty preserved, the powerful need not
persecute the weak, and human
dignity can be enhanced. 17

We are still militarily secure, and
engaged in a massive armaments
race to insure continuing equivalent
strength with our potential
adversaries. 1

To all the world we pledge ¹⁸
patience, restraint and wisdom in
our ~~and~~ unending search for peace,
with ^{and} our ultimate goal the elimination
of nuclear weapons from this earth,
(^{with} ~~and~~ the world's armaments limited to
those necessary for each nation's own
domestic safety.) Success can mean life
instead of death. 19

We have come through many times
of testing and trial, of disappointment
and concern. Even our ^{own} Great Govern-
ment has its recognized limits, and
can neither answer all questions
nor solve all problems.

But the American dream
persists.

12

We reject the prospect of failure
or mediocrity or of an inferior
quality of life. Ours is a tradition
of leadership and progress, of compassion
and competence.

Our nation's best is still ahead.

13

We can depend on our own quiet
strength, based not merely on the
size of an arsenal, but on the
nobility of our ^{deeds}

8.

To be true to ^{ourselves} others, we must
be true to others. Our world is
now dominated by a new spirit,
by peoples more numerous and more
politically aware, craving and now
demanding their place in the sun -

9.

not just for the betterment of
the human condition, ~~for~~ but for ~~the~~ a
fundamental respect for human rights.
Freedom in the world is on the
rise.

10

Tapping this new spirit, we must
help to shape a world, ^{of peace} that is
truly humane. There can be no
nobler nor more ambitious task for
America to undertake on this day
of a new beginning.

The years ahead will not be easy ones, but we have in the past faced many difficulties and prevailed - because we are a people who know that high purpose and hard work can make the noblest dream come true.

24

If we are inspired by challenge and adversity, then surely greatness can be our nation's reward.

25

We cannot afford to drift. ~~It~~
~~we must strive~~ ~~is time~~ to end discrimination,
to protect the quality of our
life, to eliminate waste, to
control crime, to put our people to
work, to strengthen our families,
to insure fair taxation, to protect
personal privacy, and to set and
achieve worthy goals in

30

just
I have taken the oath of office
on a Bible my mother gave me ^{many years ago -} opened
to an admonition and a promise
from God x to King Solomon, still
applicable to ~~our great nation, its~~
~~features and~~ our people, our leaders
and our great nation:

48

"If my people, which are called by
my name, shall humble themselves,
and pray, and seek my face, and
turn from their wicked ways; then
will I hear from heaven, and
will forgive their sin, and will
heal their land." (2 Chron 7:14)

49

This inauguration ceremony marks
a new beginning, a new spirit
among our people, and a new
dedication within our government.
No one person can nurture and
enhance this spirit.

14

But it is the genius of our ^{Democratic} Society
that those elected to public office
can sometimes embody the aspirations
and struggles of millions of people.
This is how strengths are multiplied
and success made possible.

15

A President may detect and
announce a new spirit; only a people
can provide it. It must begin
within many individuals, with a
common realization of our new
opportunities.

16

(too)
You have given me a great
responsibility - to exemplify what
you are. The ^{your} strength of our
people can compensate for my
weakness, and your wisdom can
help to minimize my ^(failures) mistakes.

~~In spite of recent mistakes~~, the world still looks to us for leadership. Ours is a strong nation and it will remain strong, with strength ^{so} adequate that it need not be proven in combat.

We have no fear of peaceful competition.

18

We know that the trust which our nation earns is essential to its strength.

19

We will seek lasting agreements in those areas of the world where the present balance is fragile and where peace seems a temporary state.

We will not behave in another country in a way which would violate our rules and standards here at home.

20

We will fight our wars against poverty, ignorance and injustice, for those are the enemies against which our forces can be worthily marshalled.

23

We will help to build a just and peaceful world order.

We must beware of illusions. For a long time to come we must combine peaceful competition with increasing efforts to accommodate with some other nations our existing differences.

33

We cannot dominate other nations nor be rigidly moralistic but our sense of morality dictates a clearcut preference for those societies which share with us an abiding respect for individual human rights. Because we are free, we cannot be indifferent to the fate of freedom elsewhere.

32

In that setting, American power will remain a constant and credible factor of stability. Everyone must know that adequate military strength - to defend our interests, to preserve our ideals, and to safeguard our friends - will be maintained and kept ready if required.

34

We seek not to intimidate, but it is clear that a world which others can dominate with impunity would be inhospitable to decency and contrary to the wellbeing of all people.

35

Our nation can be strong abroad only if it is strong at home. Foreign trade and jobs for our workers, the world economy and ^{domestic} prosperity ~~here at home~~ are all mutually supportive; and concern for hungry people in other nations must be matched by meeting the needs of the disadvantaged in our own land. 36

We urge all other peoples to join
us in a concerted and aggressive
effort to realize these goals.

21

Our recent serious mistakes can
bring a resurgent commitment to the
basic values of our nation. Hatred of
our own government will leave us
no future.

37

We must assess our faults, tolerate
diversity, recognize our physical limitations,
and yet remember that the American
dream is neither ^{out}dated nor diminished.

America is not just a place,
but an idea.

38

We, the people of the United States,
are strong, and within us there
is evident a somber, purposeful,
unyielding rekindling of hope.

If we can maintain a moral
and just government, our future
will be even better than the past.

39

Our goal is both simple and
majestic - to have an American
government as good and decent
and strong and competent and
as filled with compassion and
love as are the American
people.

28